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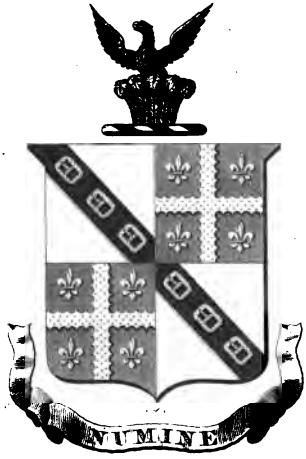

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THE REVOLUTIONARY PLUTARCH:

EXHIBITING THE MOST

DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS,

LITERARY, MILITARY, AND POLITICAL,

In the Recent Annals of the

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

THE GREATER PART

FROM THE ORIGINAL INFORMATION

OF

A GENTLEMAN RESIDENT AT PARIS.

FOURTH EDITION.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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TO THE

VIRTUOUS SHADES

OF

TWO DEPARTED PATRIOTS,

LOUIS XVI. & EDMUND BURKE,

THE FOLLOWING

PAGES ARE DEDICATED:

OF WHOM,

THE ONE DECORATED A THRONE,

WITH ALL THE RARE AND ESTIMABLE QUALITIES OF

PRIVATE LIFE;

WHILST

THE OTHER, IN A PRIVATE STATION,

POSSESSED THOSE TALENTS AND VIRTUES CAPABLE OF ADDING

LUSTRE TO A THRONE.

TESTIMONIES

IN FAVOUR OF

THE FOLLOWING WORK.

"THE contents of these volumes are interesting in a remarkable degree; as detailing, either from personal knowledge, or from accredited works of other writers, the lives, conduct, and crimes of every person distinguished as a relative, a courtier, a favourite, a tool, an accomplice, or a rival of the Corsican Upstart, who has hitherto with impunity oppressed and plundered the continent of Europe; and as exhibiting at the same time a clear display of the extraordinary kind of police by which Paris is now regulated. Such a mass of moral turpitude as is here displayed, yet in a form that leaves little room to suspect its authenticity, makes us blush for our species. The public crimes of the Buonaparte family are not more odious than the vices of their private lives are flagitious. We believe that no reader who begins to peruse this collection of Republican Biography will feel inclined to relinquish it till he has gone through its pages. The subject is universally interesting, and the incidents are so well narrated, as to justify us in giving the book our unqualified recommendation."

European Magazine, January 1804, *p. 56.*

"THE author, whom we understand to be an old officer, gives, in these volumes, a sketch of the most remarkable passages in the lives of those, who, having played a considerable part in the course of the revolution, are now mostly the favourites and relatives of Buonaparte. He had an opportunity of being personally acquainted with many of the characters whom he describes, whose lives, with a few exceptions, exhibit only a detail of crimes at which human nature revolts. Most of these are already known to the public; but the criminals are here brought more immediately under our view, and held up to the just detestation of mankind. The style is simple and perspicuous, and the work is deserving of public patronage."

Literary Journal, Jan. 16, 1804. p. 33.

"IT were much to be wished that these volumes could find their way into every house, and into every cottage in the united kingdom; the perusal of them would scarcely fail to excite abhorrence of the wretches who now threaten to convert *our* country into the same scene of desolation, blood, and vice, as they have converted all other countries into, in which their intrigues or their arms have secured them a footing."

Anti-Jacobin Review.

"IT gives us much satisfaction to see this work so soon appear in a New Edition and improved form, and not a little pleasure to think that our just commendation may in some degree

degree have promoted its successful circulation. We have now an additional volume, in which is found a very interesting life of the Duke of Enghien, that gallant prince so basely and barbarously murdered by the most execrable tyrant that ever disgraced humanity. We have also a sketch of the life of Louis XVIII. of Georges, the Generals Berthier, Menou, Murat, Rochambeau, and Boyer. The life of Cambaceres, Regnier, Thuriot, Real, the infamous Mehee de la Touche, Garat, Fontanes, and Chenier. Of these men, who now make so distinguished an appearance on the theatre of France, who are exercising in their several spheres the cruelest tyranny, rolling in luxury and wealth, the greater part arose from the meanest situations, and have only attained the highest by a series of the most abominable crimes. The principal facts alledged of them are alike recent and notorious. Besides this, the character of the writer, with which we have been made acquainted, stamps on the publication the sanction of unquestionable authenticity. Many of the relations, *ipse miserrimus vidi*. His friends and relations, and property, have been the victims of their cruelty. He himself has languished in their dungeons, and there it was that he collected materials for this work, and probably for others, from which, we doubt not, he will obtain an equal degree of reputation." *British Critic, Sept.* 1804.

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PREFACE.

La honte suit toujours le parti des rebelles,
Leurs grandes actions sont les plus criminelles,
Ils signalent leur crime, en signalant leurs bras.
Et LA GLOIRE N'EST POINT, OU LES ROIS NE SONT PAS.
La Thebiade.

THE fluctuating state of affairs in France since the Revolution, the various changes that have taken place both of men and measures, and the real worthlessness, guilt, and infamy of the Public Characters now enjoying a temporary usurpation, might have rendered a sketch of their lives a task unworthy of detail, had not the present situation of politics, the degrading submission of some, the weakness of others, and the apathy of most Continental nations, and the daring menances of France, subjugated by its relentless tyrant, made it necessary to exhibit

exhibit in their true colours those revolutionary murderers and robbers, who now aim at the conquest and dominion of this Country, either by their projects against our Finances, or threats against our Independence.

On a review of those barbarous and debased rebels who have hitherto been held up by anarchists and demagogues as examples of virtue and valour, the mind recoils at the hideous prospect which they present; and after an always afflicting, and often disgusting, investigation of incontrovertible truths and positive facts, turns with horror from a picture, strikingly, yet faithfully descriptive of the temporary triumph of vice, infamy, and ferocity.

The present volumes contain the particulars of no person who is not either a re-

a relative, a courtier, a favourite, a tool, an accomplice, a rival, or a victim of the too fortunate Corsican Upstart, now the oppressor and plunderer of the European Continent.

The Author has quoted many works from which he has obtained some of the interesting anecdotes concerning the Revolutionary Characters now offered to the public, with many of whom he has been personally acquainted, either during his travels, residence, or imprisonments in France. Should, however, some material errors have crept in, the Author hopes for the indulgence of the Reader, and requests information, that he may correct faults, not wilful misrepresentations.

The Author particularly apologizes for an uniformity of style, often, perhaps,

haps, incorrect and tedious: he is but a literary recruit, though an officer of long standing. It is not choice that has made him exchange the sword for the pen, and exhibit to public animadversion those regicides and rebels, whom he should have preferred to have combated in the field, rather than to be a biographer of persons, many of whom he has known in the ranks, commanded, or seen confounded in a nameless crowd, and in a well-deserved obscurity.

A TABLE

THE

REVOLUTIONARY PLUTARCH.

GENERAL MOREAU.

REVOLUTIONS bring forward men of genius and of talents, who, under orderly governments, and in quiet times, would have remained disregarded, unnoticed, and unknown. It is, however, too true, that the services of those who owe their notoriety to revolutions, let them be ever so great, do not recompense, or prove even an equivalent for, the unavoidable and consequent crimes of troublesome times, or the sufferings of mankind, from continual alarms, disturbances, anarchy, uncertainty, disquiet, and agitation.

According to the annals of the ancients, a million of Roman citizens were sacrificed before Cæsar reigned; and another million of

them were the victims of those who pretended to be his successors, until Octavius Augustus, after the destruction of his rivals, had assumed the reins of government over the Roman republic.

Among historians, Father D'Olreans and Voltaire calculated the number of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, who perished during the civil wars which seated Cromwell on the throne of the Stuarts, at upwards of nine hundred thousand. Des Oudouard, Chenier, and other French revolutionary writers, acknowledge that, since 1792, more than three millions of Frenchmen have been butchered by rival factions, or killed in civil and foreign wars; for the purpose, as it should seem, of enabling Buonaparte to usurp the throne of the Bourbons.

For the honour of human nature, it is to be hoped that it would be a calumny, even against the wildest French republican enthusiasts, and the most enthusiastic admirers of republics, to suppose that they would have consented to see a change of government, however desirable, if any one, in 1789, had proved to them, that before France could be a commonwealth, a Corsican its first consul, and an obscure Breton

one

Palazzo Reale di Napoli || Palais Royal de Naples..

one of its first generals, it was necessary that three millions of their countrymen should perish upon the scaffold, in prison, in exile, by famine, by poison, or in the field of battle.

Reforms, innovations, and revolutions, are easily planned, and frequently as easily brought about; but few foresee (however many may foretel) that thousands who have witnessed, and perhaps applauded, the beginnings, will, by violent deaths, be prevented from seeing the ends; and *that those who are the first plotters against the government of their country, are often the first victims of their own plots;* and, with the loss of their lives, only prepare the way to power for some nameless and unknown intriguer, who, confounded in the crowd, was disregarded or despised, when they were popular and extolled. Thus Brissot and Roland, Petion and Condorcet, Manuel and Gaudet, the founders of the republic in 1792, perished before the end of 1793; while Buonaparte, a Corsican, and but six years before an undistinguished subaltern, trampled, in 1799, on their decrees, triumphed in their destruction, and tyrannised over their country. This is the short, but true history of the revolutions of all countries, and of all times.

General Moreau is the son and grandson of two able advocates at Morlaix, in Lower Brittany, and was born in 1761. His father possessed the confidence of his superiors, the esteem of his equals, and the respect of his inferiors. His virtues, which a king would have rewarded, were crimes with a revolutionary government, which proscribed every one who was merely suspected to be good, virtuous, and humane. In August, 1794, when the son, a republican general, added Sluys to his other conquest for the French republic, the French republican Prieur, and the jacobins at Brest, sent the father to the scaffold, with other members of the department of Finisterre, *as an aristocrat, or a friend of aristocrats*, because he had faithfully and honourably managed the affairs of several noble emigrants, entrusted to his care, before they left France to join the Bourbons, and to save their lives from a threatened proscription. His untimely end was lamented by all who knew his worth; bewailed by the people, but unrevenged, as well by them as by his son.

Young Moreau had, before the Revolution, shewed his ambition to be distinguished. In May, 1788, when the scheming minister of Louis

Louis XVI. Cardinal de Brienne, intended a reform, or rather an innovation, in the magistracy, Moreau, who was then Prevot de Droit, or at the head of the students in law at Rennes, over whom he had a marked and known influence, commanded them and other young men who rose in its defence, and was therefore called the general of the parliament. Moreau has an agreeable air of frankness, a pleasing and benevolent physiognomy, strong natural parts, a good education, and a considerable share of military experience, acquired at an early age, in some regiments of the line, into which he had twice enlisted, contrary to the will of his father; and these were the principal causes of his superiority over his friends, and of the regard that he met with even from his opponents. During the five months existence of this petty parliamentary war, he displayed valour, and gained achievements, which were not unattended by wisdom, or that sort of prudence compatible and consistent with an insurrection against the legitimate authority. Count Theard de Bissy, the respectable commander for the king, had been ordered to carry into execution the changes proposed by De Brienne. His moderation and humanity saved the lives

of many of the insurgents. He had given strict orders, if possible, to capture Moreau, but not to hurt him; but Moreau was so much upon his guard, and shewed so great an intrepidity, that the troops of the line could never arrest him, although he walked out every day in all the public places at Rennes, and often very weakly escorted. Many, however, ascribe young Moreau's safety, at this period, more to the good opinion and respect which every body had for the father, than to the capacity of the son; and all impartial men must agree, that nothing can better prove the lenity and clemency of Louis XVI. than that neither Moreau, nor the insurgents under his command, were persecuted or punished.

In May, 1788, Moreau had been in arms for the parliament, and for the states of Brittany, against the minister. In October of the same year, he commanded the troops of Nantes and Rennes, armed against the same parliament, and against the same states of Brittany, with intent to force them to execute the orders of the king's ministers, for a convocation of the states-general of the whole kingdom. This change of conduct and character has been observed more than once in Moreau, during his public

public and military career: it is but just to observe, however, that the minister whom Moreau opposed was the unpopular and impolitic Cardinal De Brienne; whereas the minister whom he defended was the then favourite of the people, M. Neckar, the successor to De Brienne, who was obliged to resign in August, 1788.

During the winter of 1788, Moreau every day evinced greater military talents, and was indefatigable in the cause which he had undertaken to defend. When, therefore, the weakness and irresolution of the parliament and the states of Brittany had promised to admit three deputies from the insurgents to inspect the registers of their deliberations, and to be convinced of their sincerity. Moreau was one of the three persons elected, and on this occasion he acted with as much moderation and politeness as he had shown before of vigilance and activity. When the registers were offered for inspection, Moreau, in a short, but acute speech, said, *that he and his friends were certain they had to do with gentlemen, and therefore trusted to their word of honour, which he hoped would convince their enemies and calumniators, that his young friends in arms were all loyal men,*

and not rebels; that they had armed for a good and just cause, and not against the government of their country, or the privileges of their countrymen; that they were friends to liberty, but lovers of order; and as they now had the hope and assurance of being free, quiet and order should be immediately restored, by their dispersing, and returning to their former and usual occupations. His conduct, on this occasion, gained him the approbation of his enemies, more than that of his hot-headed and enthusiastic friends, whom it required all his influence to persuade to be satisfied with humiliating the privileged orders, without dishonouring them.*

When, in 1789, the national guards were formed, he was elected the commander of one of the battalions from his department. Hitherto his lively genius had, merely in obedience to his good father's desire, although with much difficulty, and, as he often says, *even with disgust*, submitted to the dull and dry study of the law. When, therefore, the constitution of his country had sanctioned the place he occupied; and the military rank he had

* See La Conduite des Insurges Bretons en 1788, page 36.

had obtained from the free choice and confidence of his fellow-citizens made the permanency of his continuance in a military line a probability, if not a certainty; neither the entreaties of his parents, nor the prospect of pecuniary advantages,* could dissuade or tempt him from employing his whole time in improving his military tactics, and in gaining more military information and knowledge. Even when his health suffered from an application and exercise that wasted his strength in the day, and deprived him of rest at night, he could not be persuaded for some time to remit his labours. His friends say, that he *devoured* in four months more military works, treatises, and memoirs, than had been composed in four centuries; and went through, in three months, more military manœuvres and evolutions than many officers have gone through in thirty years.†

At the first review of his battalion, in May, 1790, the old General Count Theard de Bissy told him *how highly satisfied he was with the regularity*,

* La Jeunesse de General Moreau, imprimé à Rennes, an iii. It is said, that his father offered him half a share in his business, which he declined.

† See the last-mentioned pamphlet, p. 24.

regularity, discipline, and evolutions of this corps; and assured Colonel Moreau, that few of the colonels of the regiments of the line, with their old corps, would afford him the same pleasure and gratification that he had experienced in reviewing his battalion of national guards. These are the very words, extracted from the official report of Count Theard De Bissy addressed to the King's minister of the war department. And when it is considered, that at this very period the greatest jealousy subsisted between the regiments of the line and the national guards, and that the latter were held in much contempt by the former, this praise does Moreau more honour than many later eulogies, presented as often to the fortunate and successful, as to the meritorious and deserving. It was upon his return from this review that he said, *the Count Theard de Bissy has done me a great deal of honour; but if he lives some years longer, he shall see me command not only the national guards, but the army of the line.** His prediction was fulfilled. This unfortunate nobleman lived until the 27th July, 1794; when, at the age of seventy-two, he was sent to

* See La Jeunesse de General Moreau, page 30.

to the guillotine by Robespierre's tribunal; and at that time Moreau commanded a detached part of Pichegru's army in Flanders.

Too well informed, and too humane, to like a revolutionary government, he was far from approving the constitutional anarchy of the constitution of 1793; and the battalion under his command was one of the last in the republican army that sanctioned it with its acceptance. This was so much the more courageous and generous in an ardent and aspiring young officer, as, during the reign of terror, even an hesitation to obey the dictates of ignorant cruelty, or to submit implicitly to the regulations of cruel ignorance, not only annihilated all hope of promotion, but endangered the life of him who resisted them. His courage, his zeal, and his talents, however, were such, that they soon silenced base envy, gross ignorance, and revolutionary fanaticism; and he commanded promotion from men by whom he was detested, and whose detestation he retorted by an undisguised abhorrence. In July, 1793, he was, by Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety, promoted to the rank of a general of brigade; and if success did not crown his first attempts as a general, he had the consolation to know,

that he deserved victory when he met with a defeat. His first engagement, as a commander, took place on the 14th September, 1793. Having with a division of the army of the Moselle attacked the Prussian army, under the orders of the Duke of Brunswick, he was completely routed: but the official report, published by the enemy, did every justice both to Moreau's disposition for his attack and for his retreat, which latter is particularly praised: it is said, in this report, *that his able plan for the attack was only surpassed by his yet abler one for a retreat*; *that the French army under his command was defeated, but neither dispersed nor dishonoured.** The approbation of such a general as the Duke of Brunswick, nobody can deny, is that of a competent judge as to military merit, and is honourable at all times to all generals; but it was particularly so during the campaign of 1793, when most of the French republican generals evinced such a want of capacity, that they were looked upon with a well-deserved contempt, both by the Austrians and the Prussians; and which the cruelties of those regicides, whose cause they espoused in

* See the Report of the Duke of Brunswick to the King of Prussia, dated before Landau, Sept. 15, 1793.

in fighting their battles, did certainly neither diminish nor extenuate.

In the autumn, 1793, Moreau formed an acquaintance with General Pichegru, who was then commander in chief of the army of the Rhine. He belonged to the army of the Moselle; but, during the winter campaign, these armies often acted and fought together, and Pichegru had an opportunity of observing his judgment, talents, and courage, which wanted only the guidance of a friend, as able as willing, to make them noticed, rewarded, and illustrious. This friend Moreau found in Pichegru, who, when, in February, 1794, appointed to the command of the army of the North, caused him to be nominated a general of one of the divisions in that army. Moreau, before he had gained Pichegru's friendship, was undoubtedly a very clever and good officer, but no general; he might command a battalion, or a division; but he could not pretend, with any prospect of advantage, or any hope of honour, to be the commander in chief of an army. The friendship of Pichegru, which no mean jealousy or base envy could alter or lessen, made him, in three months,

months, what he is—one of the first generals in Europe.

Moreau distinguished himself highly on the 26th and 30th April, 1794, when he blockaded and took Menin; in June, before Ypres, which he forced to surrender on the 17th; and before Bruges, which he entered on the 29th. On the 1st of July he took Ostend; and on the 18th Nieuport, which was garrisoned by Hanoverians and by emigrants.

On the 26th of May, 1794, the National Convention passed a decree, assimilating Englishmen and Hanoverians with the proscribed French emigrants, to whom no quarter should be given. On the 31st of May, the cruel Barrere, *at present one of Buonaparte's favourites*, proposed to the Convention, that this decree should be accompanied by an address to the armies, alike impolitic, illiberal, and barbarous.* Disobedience to the decrees of the conventional

* On the 31st May, 1794, Barrere proposed to the Convention that the decree of the 26th May, prohibiting quarter being given to the English or Hanoverians, should be accompanied by the following address to the armies:

"England is capable of every outrage on humanity, and of every crime towards the republic. She attacks the rights of all nations, and threatens to annihilate liberty. How long will you suffer to continue on your frontiers the slaves of George—the soldiers of the most

conventional tyrants was death; but Moreau braved death, was disobedient, and like a manly and generous soldier, had the virtue to risk his life rather than to tarnish his fame, by putting into execution this savage decree. All the Hanoverians were saved. He had not, however,

most atrocious of tyrants? He formed the congress of Pilnitz, and brought about the scandalous surrender of Toulon; he massacred your brethren at Genoa, and burned our magazines in the maritime towns; he corrupted our cities, and endeavoured to destroy the national representation; he starved your plains, and purchased treasons on the frontiers.

"When the events of battle shall put in your power either English or Hanoverians, bring to your remembrance the vast tracts of country which English slaves have laid waste. Carry your views to La Vandée, Toulon, Lyons, Landreciès, Martinico, and St. Domingo—places still reeking with the blood which the atrocious policy of the English has shed. Do not trust to their artful language, which is an additional crime, worthy of their perfidious character and Machiavelian government. Those who boast that they abhor the tyranny of George,—say, can they fight for him?

"No, no, republican soldiers! You ought, therefore, when victory shall put in your power Englishmen or Hanoverians, to strike: not one of them ought to return to the traitorous territory of England, or to be brought into France. Let the British slaves perish, and Europe be free!"

It is necessary to observe, that about this time Robespierre did no longer share in the measures of the committees, but absented himself; Barrere, Buonaparte's favourite; Jeanbon St. André, his prefect at Mayence; Jean De Bry, his prefect at Besançon; Carnot, his tribune; Fouché, his senator, with other his associates, were the principal authors of this and other inhuman and infamous acts.

however, courage or generosity enough to extend the same humanity to several hundred French emigrants, who, being found in the garrison, were all inhumanly butchered.

On the 28th of July, General Moreau executed one of the boldest enterprizes which distinguished the campaign. Having resolved to besiege Sluys, it became necessary to gain possession of the island of Cadsand, at which there was no way of arriving but by a causeway, inundated on both sides, and commanded by fourteen pieces of cannon, or by throwing a bridge over the strait of Coschische, which he could not effect for want of pontoons. He had no resource but a few boats, in which some of the troops passed, while others swam across; and forming in the face of a superior force, and of numerous batteries, captured the island, with ninety pieces of cannon, a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, and two hundred prisoners.

Sluys was forced to capitulate on the 26th of August, after enduring a vigorous siege, in which General Moreau and his army were subjected to the greatest hardships and inconveniences; besides which, a great mortality carried away numbers of his men. The country round

round Sluys, and in Zealand, is at all times unhealthy; and in the summer months, particularly, it is liable to produce periodical and dangerous fevers, the effect of which the French felt so much the more, as they were exposed to the damps of the night and to the heat of the day, without tents, covering, provisions, or medicines. His tender care of his soldiers, during this siege, and the wants, fatigues and privations which he shared with them, endeared him to men, who by their republican rulers were sent to death and destruction, with an apathy, neglect, and indifference, unknown to, and incompatible with, lawful governments, and civilized states.

When, in October 1794, General Pichegru was forced, by illness, to resign the command for some time, he recommended Moreau to be his successor. This was the first command that he had had as a general in chief; and, although Pichegru's absence was but of short duration, the army of the North, under Moreau, captured Nimeguen and Arnheim, and made such preparations for future victories and progress, that Pichegru, on re-assuming the command, paid Moreau, in his orders, and in his report to the National Convention, the highest

highest compliments. During the famous winter campaign that followed, and which subjected Holland to France, he commanded the right wing of Pichegru's army, and contributed greatly to its rapid and astonishing success. He partook with Pichegru the honour of victory and the glory of conquest; and with him declined the plunder of the vanquished, and the contributions of the conquered.

After the conquest of Holland had been completed, and a peace concluded with Prussia, Pichegru was appointed commander in chief of the armies on the Rhine and on the Moselle. Moreau had several enemies among the leading members of the Convention and in the Committee of Public Safety, who had acted as accomplices with the assassins of his father, and therefore hated the son, whose vengeance they feared; and because they had murdered the father, they wished to disgrace and humiliate the son; but Pichegru, whose friendship for him was as great as his love for his country, forced the conventional regicides to give a respite both to their hatred and fear, and to nominate Moreau his successor in the command of the army of the North.

In December, 1795, he ordered the blockade

ade of Luxemburgh; and, after consulting with Pichegru, sent a plan of defence for Holland to the Dutch generals Daendels and Dumonceaux, and to the Batavian committee, with orders to put it in execution within eight days. This was the same plan which, during these last seven years, has been followed by all the French commanders in Holland, and to which the ignorant General Brune owed the advantages which he gained there in the winter 1799.

Disgusted with the tyrannical and impolitic conduct of the Directory, Pichegru, early in the spring, 1796, resigned the command of the army of the Rhine and of the Moselle, and again persuaded Carnot to nominate Moreau in his place. The general, however, was not a much greater favourite with the Directory than he had been with the National Convention and its Committee of Public Safety, because the directorial as well as the conventional jacobins never forgave a man whom they had injured. Pichegru had therefore great difficulty to convince Carnot and Barras, that, in serving his friend, he only served his country, and in serving his country he served the Directory.

After

After different marches and counter-marches, Moreau, in June, 1796, opened a campaign—the undisputed foundation and basis of his military reputation and glory. He was before known to be an able general and an experienced chief; to be as vigorous in his attacks as vigilant in his retreats; to add to the activity of youth the prudence of age: but during this celebrated campaign, and more celebrated retreat, he not only surprised his friends, but astonished his enemies, and commanded victory and admiration where defeat and destruction were to be expected.

After forcing General Wurmser in his camp before Frankenthal, Moreau repulsed him under the cannon of Manheim, and soon after, in the night between the 23d and 24th June, effected the passage of the Rhine, near Strasburgh. The opposite fort, Kehl, was occupied by the weak and ill-conducted troops of the Empire, whose resistance was feeble, and therefore ineffectual: those who were not killed or made prisoners were easily dispersed.

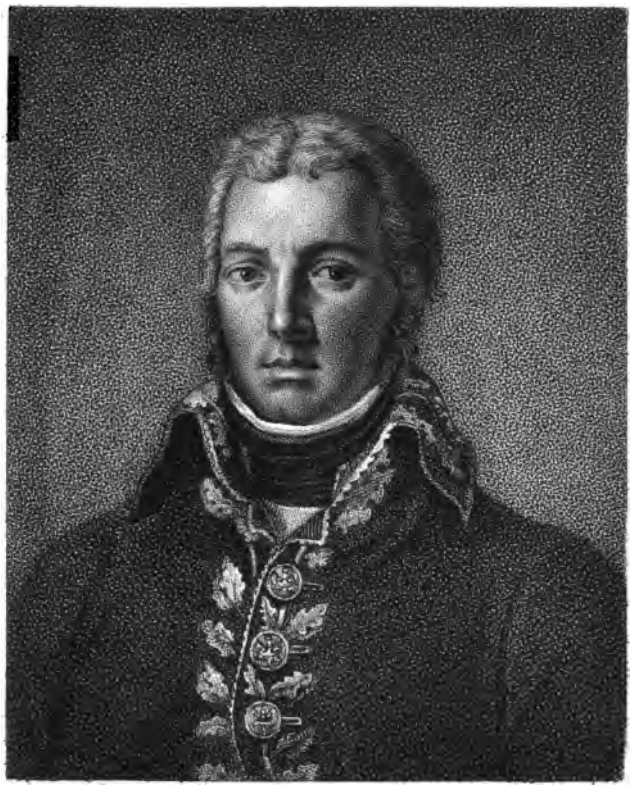
After several engagements between a division of the French army commanded by General Ferino, and the army commanded by the Prince de Condé, and when another column of French

French troops had passed the Rhine at Huninguen, the Austrians were obliged to evacuate Brisgau. It was then that Moreau, on the 6th of July, attacked the Archduke Charles by Rastadt, and, on the 9th, by Eslingen, and forced him to retreat. In these two actions Moreau shewed the greatest courage and talents, particularly in the last, which was not decided before it was night: he manœuvred with a vivacity and boldness almost incredible, and was extremely well assisted by General Dessaix, and his other generals of division, who rather wearied out the Austrians by their enthusiasm, than overcame them by their valour. On the 15th he again attacked the enemy at Pfortzheim, and compelled him to quit his strong position. If the Austrian army retreated, it was only step by step; they contested every inch of ground, and several hard-fought engagements took place, on the 18th, 21st, and 22d, at Stutgard, Caustadt, Berg, and Eslingen, all to the advantage of the French, and entirely owing to Moreau's exceedingly brilliant manœuvres; and as Jourdan had hitherto been as successful as General Moreau, their joint advantages made them masters of the Necker, a river commanding many strong positions,

sitions, and which not only served to transport the French artillery and baggage, but also enabled them to lay the neighbouring countries under contribution.

The armies of the Rhine and of the Moselle, of the Sambre and of the Meuse, were now enabled to co-operate; the different princes of Franconia and Suabia were therefore obliged to sue for peace; and Moreau's orders met with no opposition from the banks of the Rhine nearly to the gates of Munich.

On the 8th and 10th of August, two of his divisions experienced some checks; and on the 11th the Archduke Charles resolved to try once more the fate of a battle. He therefore attacked Moreau on his whole line; and, after defeating his advanced guard, forced his right wing to retreat to Heydenheim; but Dessaix, who commanded the left wing, with his usual courage and talents, overcame the enemy everywhere, while Moreau, at the same time, retrieved with the reserve the losses of the right wing. At last, after a battle of seventeen hours, both armies remained in the presence of each other, both believing themselves defeated. The Archduke finding, however, that whether he conquered or was defeated he should be obliged



General Moreau.

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obliged to fall back to the banks of the Danube, and to the town of Donauwert, began his retreat by ordering his army to descend the Danube; and Moreau took a victorious attitude, although he had obtained no victory.

This well-fought battle disconcerted the projects of Moreau; for his reserve of artillery and stores having been obliged to fly to a considerable distance, he could not harass the retreat of the Austrians towards Donauwert; and this check first interrupted the grand project which had been founded on the success attending the armies in Germany and Italy, for effecting a junction of both, and pouring with irresistible force into the Hereditary States of the Emperor.

The Archduke, receiving daily reinforcements, which diminished the disparity between him and his opponents, conceived the bold project of leaving a small number to keep Moreau in check, while, with the remainder, he fell on Jourdan, and overwhelmed him with superior numbers. Such a plan was certainly replete with danger; and has by Moreau, even in his dispatches, been mentioned with the highest applause, *as worthy the genius of the young*

young Austrian general to conceive, and his valour to execute.

On the departure of the Archduke, General La Tour had taken a defensive station behind the river Lech, covering the town of Augsburgh, while Generals Froelich and Wolf were at Wangen and Kempten, protecting the left of the army, and keeping up a communication with the Tyrol; Moreau's army was partly on the left, and partly on the right bank of the Danube, between the rivers Iller and Lech.—When he learned that the Austrian Prince had concentrated his forces at Donauwert, he crossed the Danube at Dettingen, Hochstedt, and Lauingen. In this he unwittingly completed the views of the Archduke, and for some time after shewed himself utterly unapprised of his real plan. When better informed on that point, he passed the Lech, for the purpose of penetrating into Bavaria, and approaching Munich, hoping, by these means, to make the Archduke abandon his projects against Jourdan, and return to his former station; but that judicious young general prudently contented himself with detaching ten thousand men, under General Nauendorf, to the assistance of La Tour; a force which was found sufficient

to

to hinder Moreau from penetrating beyond the Iser; and thus prevented his intended diversion.

The French under him gaining ground for four successive days (the 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th August) upon the Austrians under La Tour, both found themselves under the walls of Munich; but neither army took possession of the town. La Tour posted himself in a judicious manner, while Moreau selected a situation, at once daring, singular, and dangerous. When he, in order to meliorate his situation, meditated an assault on the TETE DE PONT at Ingolstadt, Generals Nauendorf and Mercantin, on the first of September, attacked his left wing, and pursued him as far as Langenbruck, and the chapel of St. Gast. He, however, soon revenged this loss, by sending General St. Cyr, on the 3d, to dislodge the Austrians from Freysingen and its bridge, in which he completely succeeded.

For several days, slight affairs of posts only took place; but in this interval the Elector Palatine, terrified by the approach of the republicans, obtained from him a treaty of peace, by which, in consideration of large sacrifices in money, clothing and provisions, for the

French army, he sold to the Elector a neutrality for his dominions in Bavaria, Franconia, and Westphalia. As this defection from the general cause of the empire, followed within a month the pacification of the republic with Saxony, it was expected, that, from the consequent diminution of the Imperial army, and the supplies which the French had acquired, they would have derived great advantages; but, in fact, the pursuits of this easy, though apparently profitable triumph, insulated Moreau, prevented his receiving due intelligence, and in the end brought upon him many difficulties.

The Austrian light troops displayed the most successful vigilance in intercepting all couriers; and at length Moreau, very ill informed of Jourdan's situation, sent, on the 10th September, a large corps of cavalry, drawn from his left wing, across the Danube, and, on the ensuing day, quitted his own position on the Iser, for the purpose of supporting or following this column. While executing this bold manœuvre, he was attacked near Munich, by Prince Furstenberg and General Froelich, who defeated his rear-guard. The division which had passed the river on the preceding

ceding day reached Aichstedt, where it levied contributions, and threw Franconia into great alarm for the fate of the Archduke; but General La Tour instantly commenced a pursuit of Moreau, while General Nauendorf, passing the Danube below Neuburg, overtook Desaix whom he had recalled, and defeated his rear-guard.

General Jourdan had about this time been so completely routed by the Archduke, that his army was making a most confused and irregular retreat; and the disorderly conduct of the army of the Sambre and Meuse placed that of the Rhine and the Moselle in a very critical position; for all the conquests of Moreau were now become useless, in consequence of the defeat of Jourdan. The former, after conducting his victorious troops from the banks of the Rhine, to those of the Danube and Iser, and proving successful in no less than five pitched battles, as well as a great number of skirmishes, was now obliged to commence his justly-celebrated retreat.

French generals have more difficulty to keep their troops in spirits and order in a retreat, than to lead them on with alacrity, even to the most dangerous attack. On the offensive, the

with the forest towns, forced the passes of the Black Forest, and penetrated through the *Val d'Enfer* with his centre, he employed his two wings against the numerous detachments led on by the Generals La Tour, Nauendorf, and Petrasch.

The French army having, on the 12th October, resumed its march, the main body encamped in the neighbourhood of Fribourg, and waited for the arrival of the rest of the troops. The moment a junction had been effected, the Archduke Charles assaulted, and, on the 18th October, with some difficulty, carried the village of Kendringen. Next day he attacked part of the enemy stationed at Nymbourg; but after an action that lasted from ten o'clock in the morning until dark, he was obliged to desist from his enterprize, having experienced considerable loss, in consequence of the spirited resistance of General Desaix.

Moreau now abandoned the Brisgau, and at the head of an army fatigued by the length of its march, destitute of shoes, and rendered sickly by continual rains, proceeded towards the banks of the Rhine, and, dividing his army into two bodies, Desaix re-passed that river at Brisach, while he himself directed his course towards

for combat, would also be the signal for victory."

After he had, on the 11th September, crossed the Lech, he gave orders to cut down all the bridges behind him; he then ascended along the banks of the Danube, and stationed his head-quarters at Ulm. Finding himself closely pursued, he suddenly, on the 1st October, attacked General La Tour in his camp between Biberach and Buchau, and, after a long and bloody action, not only forced him to retire in confusion, but would have entirely destroyed his army, had it not been for a most gallant resistance on the part of the few emigrants under the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Enghien, who covered the retreat of the Austrians, and saved their baggage.

Moreau now divided his army into two bodies, and marched suddenly through Munderkingen, Neudlingen, and Palengen, to attack the Generals Nauendorf and Petrasch, who were forced to abandon their respective positions; so terrible was this commander, even in the moment of retreat, that he took no less than seven thousand prisoners in these different actions.

Having at length opened a communication

to Buonaparte in Italy, the Austrians would probably have been in a situation to assist General Wurmser, blockaded at Mantua; and Italy might as easily have been conquered in 1797, as it was lost in 1796.

German and French writers have compared Moreau's retreat to that of Xenophon among the ancients, and of Belleisle among the moderns; but it undoubtedly surpassed the latter; and more than equalled the former. Belleisle owed the lustre of his retreat to some marches which he stole upon the enemy, and Xenophon retreated with his Greeks through the territories of a cowardly and effeminate people; while Moreau traversed a country inhabited by one of the most warlike nations in the universe; and neither Xenophon nor Belleisle blended the laurels of victory with the cypress of retreat.

According to Carnot's memoirs, Moreau and Desaix made the victories of the Archduke Charles of little service to Austria, by amusing him in a petty warfare before Kehl, wasting there those precious moments which ought to have been dedicated to the relief of Mantua. But this was not the only censure passed on the Austrian commander; for while his army, by

by incessant attacks, during the rigours of winter, suffered considerably, and diminished daily, the army of the Sambre and the Meuse was re-organized by Moreau; who was, besides, enabled and generous enough to spare 20,000 of his best troops to Buonaparte, and thereby to put him in a situation to command the peace of Leoben in 1797.

After the capitulation of Kehl, on the 22d December, and the surrender of the bridge head of Huninguen, the 5th February, 1797, and after the army of the Sambre and the Meuse had received Hoche for its commander, he returned to head the army of the Rhine and the Moselle. With this army he again, on the 20th April, 1797, crossed the Rhine, and after a long and vigorous resistance, forced the enemy to abandon its borders. During the eight following days he pursued the Austrians nearly to the Danube, when he received a courier from Buonaparte, announcing the peace of Leoben.

Moreau had never participated in the crimes, or approved the principles, of the jacobins; on the contrary, he had shewn himself humane and liberal towards many proscribed persons, who, during the campaigns in Germany, had

fallen into his hands.* He was, besides, the friend of Pichegru, then a Deputy in the Council of Five Hundred, and the avowed enemy of the jacobin faction in the Directory. All these reasons made him, no doubt, suspected by the directorial jacobins, Barras, La Reveiliere, and Rewbel.

On the 18th Fructidor, or 4th September, 1797, these three directors effected a revolution; and Pichegru, with many other deputies, was, without a trial, condemned to be transported to Cayenne. It is difficult to say how far the pretended correspondence of Pichegru, in which there was not a letter in his own hand-writing, could implicate Moreau: every one has formed his opinion of this correspondence, as his passion or interest directed; and whilst one party accuses Pichegru, another acquits him. This correspondence was taken in a packet belonging to the Austrian General Klinglin, when Moreau crossed the Rhine, and had therefore been a long time in his hands before he made any use of it; either because he

* It is true that, in 1794, at Nieuport, Moreau caused several emigrants to be shot; but, during the campaigns of 1796 and 1797, all emigrants who fell into his hands, be ordered, in the presence of the army, to be shot; but he secretly procured them an opportunity to escape.

he judged it insignificant, or withheld it from attachment to his friend and benefactor; he having been indebted to Pichegru both for instruction and promotion.

Moreau was still the commander in chief of the army of the Rhine and the Moselle, and his head-quarters were at Strasburgh, when the revolution at Paris, of the 4th September, which proscribed Pichegru, took place. Strasburg is upwards of 300 miles from Paris; but, in three or four hours, any thing may be communicated by the telegraph between these two cities. It is therefore to be supposed, that when Moreau, on the 5th September, wrote a long letter against Pichegru, and *denounced* him to the Director Barthelemy, whom he little imagined had shared the same fate, he had already received a short telegraphic information, that the jacobin faction had been victorious, and therefore entirely changed sides. This is so much the more probable, as, during the spring and summer 1797, when addresses poured in from Buonaparte's army in Italy, in favour of the jacobins, and against the Council of Five Hundred, neither the threats of the Directory, nor the intrigues of its emissaries, could produce one single address from the ar-

my of the Rhine and the Moselle under Moreau's command.*

He had hitherto possessed the esteem of all loyal men; but, by this incomprehensible conduct, he lost the good opinion of the royalists, without obtaining the confidence of the republicans. Even his friends and admirers have been unable to make any tolerable apology for him, but have acknowledged, that one of the bravest and greatest of modern warriors has evinced himself

* Extract from a letter written by General Moreau to the Director Barthelemy, dated Head-quarters, Strasburgh, 19th Fructidor, year v. or 5th September, 1797.

"CITIZEN DIRECTOR,

"You will no doubt remember, that, during my last journey to Basle, I informed you, that after our passage of the Rhine, we had taken a packet belonging to General Klinglin, containing two or three hundred letters of his correspondents. Many of these were in cyphers, &c. &c.

"*I was at first determined not to publish this correspondence;* but observing at the head of parties who at present trouble our country, a man enjoying in a high situation, the greatest confidence; *a man deeply involved in this correspondence, and destined to perform an important part in the recal of the Pretender, the object to which it was directed*; I thought it my duty to inform you of this circumstance, &c. &c.

"I confess, Citizen Director, that it is extremely painful to inform you of this treachery, more especially as *he whom I now* denounce *to you was once my friend, &c. I allude to the representative of the people, Pichegru.* And again, the proofs are as *clear as day; I doubt, however, whether they are judicial,*" &c. &c.

himself the weakest of men, and that, however he loved and desired what was honest and just, when he met with any unforeseen obstacle, he had not mind enough to defy vice in power, or to support or defend virtue in exile and distress.* Others have said, that he became the denouncer, not of a friend, but of a person from whom he had withdrawn his esteem because he did not approve of his conduct; that he believed this inculpation could do no harm to Pichegru, in his actual situation, but might save himself from the hatred and persecution of the victorious party. It cannot be denied, however, that this transaction, in whatever manner it is explained, must lessen General Moreau, with people even the most indulgent, without his deriving from it the benefit that he expected. In vain did he again write to the Directory, on the 10th of September, against the great man whom the directorial satellites were then with cruelty conducting to Cayenne; in vain did he affirm and protest his devotion—no regard was had to this tardy denunciation; and Moreau, after being for some time under arrest, was forced to resign his command. If the

* Apologie de General Moreau, par un de ses Admirateurs, page 4.

the Directory employed him afterwards, it was not because it trusted to his sincerity, but that it wanted his talents; and it always calculated upon his submission and fidelity from his weakness, rather than from his attachment. Had a man of Moreau's great abilities been the general of a legitimate king, he would never have found himself necessitated either to stain his reputation, or to dishonour his character; because he would have known that, under regular and moral governments, any mean action is as much a certain ruin, as it is, under revolutionary usurpation, a duty, and often a recommendation to preferment.

During the greatest part of 1798, Moreau lived retired, and in disgrace. His active mind, however, was not without employment: he partly occupied himself with writing the particulars of his own campaigns, and partly in reading the memoirs of other great generals. Buonaparte was at this time a favourite with the Directory, the army, and the people; but such were his base jealousy and shameful ingratitude towards General Moreau, to whose reinforcements, sent to Italy in the winter of 1796, he owed all his late success, that he neither once spoke in his favour to Barras, as Moreau

reau desired him, nor returned the visit that Moreau paid him before his departure to Egypt.

General Moreau revenged himself nobly for this insolent neglect; for, after the victory of Lord Nelson, on the 1st of August, 1798, when Buonaparte was unable to return so soon as he had intended, Madame Buonaparte was reduced to such great distress, as even to pawn her jewels. Her situation was reported to Moreau, who sent her 100,000 livres by a stranger, upon her bond only; and Buonaparte had been the First Consul for upwards of twelve months, before he knew to whom he was indebted for this act of generosity, and it was then only discovered by the indiscretion of his friend.

In the winter of 1798, when the Directory apprehended that hostilities would recommence with Austria, Moreau was sent as inspector-general to the army of Italy, under the command of General Scherer: an inferior station for a person of his merit and rank; but he has more than once proved himself, both before and since, to be above punctilios, when his country was in danger, and he could serve or save it.

Under the command of a general who had prepared

prepared the ruin of the army of Germany by his dilapidation as a minister, and that of Italy by his incapacity as a commander, he submitted himself, for his country's sake, to the protection of a plunderer, and to instruction from an ideot, who was the darling of jacobin directors, as rapacious and ignorant as himself. Moreau often mentions this period of his military career as the most disgusting and tormenting, because he despised General Scherer, and foresaw the destruction of the army under his command.

Early in March, 1799, the war with Austria was renewed under the most favourable auspices; every thing seemed now to demonstrate that the councils of France were no longer directed with the same energy, and that her armies would not be led with the same ability and success. At the battle of Verona, commenced in the neighbourhood of Castel Nuovo, between the lake of Garda and the Adige, on the 26th of March, and which continued from sun-rising until night, before it was possible to determine to which side victory inclined, Moreau served only as a volunteer: being prevailed upon, however, to assume the direction of the right wing of the army, he took

from

from fourteen to fifteen hundred prisoners, and six pieces of cannon; but Scherer, who had taken post on the left wing, being routed, he found himself obliged to relinquish all his advantages.

After the victories of Championet and Macdonald over the Neapolitans, in December, 1798, Tuscany and Naples had been occupied by the French: Scherer having failed in his attempt to pierce the enemy's line, it was proposed by Moreau to evacuate, for a time, these countries and Rome, where the French had continued to remain since 1797, to concentrate all their forces in Italy, with a view of recovering the ascendancy, and forcing the Austrians to retire.

Instead of following this judicious advice, Scherer determined to draw fresh supplies from the garrisons in Piedmont, and to try once more the fortune of arms. He accordingly sent a large detachment to turn Verona, and to take that place by storm. But by this time General Kray had arrived, with a large body of troops, and resolved to drive the enemy behind the Mincio, after which he would be at liberty to besiege Peschiera and Mantua. On the 30th of March the action commenced by an

an attack on the right wing of the French, while a large body of Imperialists advanced against the left, where Moreau was posted with the divisions of Hatry, Montrichard, and Serrurier. Aware of the approach of the imperialists, he immediately marched out to meet, and at length forced them to retire; but Scherer having been again beaten, he was obliged to halt in the midst of the pursuit, for the purpose of covering the retreat of the main body of the army. The corps that had advanced against Verona was also surrounded, and, after some resistance, made prisoners.

On the 18th of April, the Russian auxiliaries, commanded by Field-marshal Suwarow, joined the Austrians at Verona. Suwarow had risen from the ranks, through all the intermediate gradations, to that of general in chief, and brought with him a reputation established by more than fifty victorious campaigns. A short time before his arrival in Italy, the French had again been defeated by General Kray, near Maguan, and by Count De Bellegarde in the Tyrol. It was at this period that Scherer, overwhelmed with the curses of the allies, and of the troops of France, resigned the command; and Moreau, whose reputation had not been

been diminished by the late events, was appointed his successor.

This dangerous, but honourable appointment, he accepted, not with any hope of repairing the disasters of the beginning of this campaign, because the French Directory furnished him with no means to do it; but, if possible, to stop, prevent, or diminish, the fatal consequences of so many defeats, of so many wants, and of so great a discontent in the ruined army of which he assumed the command.

All military men, French, Austrians, and Russians, acknowledged that he here displayed a genius and talents worthy the greatest captain of any age; and it is indeed impossible to refuse him a well-deserved admiration, when one considers with what art, ability, and courage, he disputed, at the head of the feeble remnants of an army, without pay, without clothing, without magazines, and without hope of reinforcements, a country of several leagues, which all Europe expected would only cost the victorious armies of the combined powers some days marches.

To the united forces of Austria and Russia, he had to oppose only thirty-five thousand men,

men, harassed by continual and severe marches, discouraged and intimidated by recent defeats and disasters, disaffected, discontented, and mistrustful. A retreat, therefore, became absolutely necessary: Isola Della Scala and Villa Franca were abandoned in succession; the Mincio was crossed; and the strong fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua being left to their fate, Generals Kray and Klenau formed the blockade of both with a body of twenty-five thousand men.

Suwarow now took the field in order to pursue the French, and having crossed the Oglio, and advanced to the Udda in three columns, found them strongly posted on the other side, having fortified Cassano, and made all the necessary preparations for an obstinate resistance. The Russians, however, determined to effect the passage, and General Vickassowich found means to cross the river, during the night between the 26th and 27th April, on a flying bridge; after which he immediately took post on the right bank, near Brevio. In the course of the succeeding morning, one Austrian column, under general Otto, also passed over near the castle of Trezzo, and falling in with Grenier's division, which was advancing

advancing against Vickassowich, at length forced it to give way. After this, the village of Pezzo was carried sword in hand. General Melas also marched with artillery against Cassano, and obtained possession of the bridge, while a division of French at Bertero was beaten, after an obstinate engagement, and forced to capitulate.

During the long and hard fought battle of Cassano, Moreau was every where encouraging his troops with his presence, and inspiring confidence by his example: on that memorable day he rather courted than shunned danger, in the hope, if not of restoring victory to France, at least of lessening the effects of the victory of a too powerful enemy. He had three aides-de-camp killed by his side, two horses wounded, and one horse killed under him, and was slightly wounded himself. This battle decided the fate of the Cisalpine republic, and the next day the Allies entered Milan.

The aspect of affairs throughout Italy was at this moment peculiarly inauspicious for France. The people of Piedmont were discontented, and many of them in arms; in the Ligurian commonwealth great commotions had also taken place; many of the Neapolitans, driven

driven to despair by the exactions of the French pro-consuls, wished for the return of royalty; whilst the Tuscans, who had been tranquil and happy under the Grand Dukes of the House of Austria, murmured aloud, and were about to commence hostilities against their conquerors. In the mountainous regions of the Engadine, in the Grison country, in Switzerland, in the Valais, and in the Valteline, either the French had been defeated, or the inhabitants were in open insurrection against them. Brescia and Peschiera had surrendered to the enemy; Mantua was closely pressed, and the capital of Piedmont was threatened by a large column of the Allies.—Thus situated, Moreau, yielding to superior numbers, was obliged to abandon his strong position between the Po and the Tenaro, after defeating General Vickassowich on the banks of the Bormida.

Hitherto Suwarow appeared to have justified the high opinion entertained by all Europe of his talents; but by a loose and injudicious partition of the army under his command, it soon became evident that he was unacquainted with war on a grand scale, and equally ignorant of the nation and the general with whom he

he had now to contend. His conduct presented an excellent chance for Moreau to retrieve the losses lately sustained by him in Italy; and he seized the occasion with a promptitude peculiar to his character. Accordingly, although he had now retreated in succession from the plains of Lombardy and Piedmont, within the rugged frontier of the Ligurian republic, and was left with only twenty-eight thousand men, he detached General Victor with a whole division, to strengthen the army of Naples; while measures were adopted on his own part to form a junction with it, hoping, in that case, to be able to overcome superior forces, rendered weak by extension, and incapable of succouring each other, in consequence of their want of connexion.

No sooner had General Macdonald received instructions for that purpose from Moreau, than he immediately evacuated Naples and Rome, after leaving strong garrisons in St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta, and marched towards Florence, with a view of uniting with Generals Gauthier and Miolis, who commanded the French troops in Tuscany, and of receiving the succours now advancing to his relie

relief from the head-quarters of General Moreau.

After several partial and victorious engagements with the enemy, General Macdonald lost at last the hard-fought battles of the 17th, 18th, and 19th June, on the Trebbia: but while the Austro-Russian commander was combáting Macdonald, Moreau, taking advantage of his absence, left Genoa, at the head of an army of twenty-nine thousand men, and marching by Bochetta, Gavi, and Novi, descended into the plain, where, on the 20th of June, he attacked and beat Field-marshal Bellegarde, who had been left to superintend the blockade of Alexandria. The Austrians, unable to resist the superior numbers and impetuosity of the enemy, were driven from all their positions, and not only obliged to raise the siege of Tortona, but to retreat across the Bormida.

No sooner did Suwarow receive intelligence of these sinister events, than he abandoned the pursuit of Macdonald, whom he might have come up with before he had passed the mountains, and endeavoured, by a rapid counter march, to overtake the victorious Moreau, who, after boldly fighting another battle, retreated within

within the precincts of the Ligurian republic, and bid defiance to his disappointed foe.

After the surrender of Turin, Alexandria, and Mantua, and since the retreat of Macdonald into the Ligurian territory, Suwarow, having now conquered the greater part of Italy, began to menace the southern departments of France; but he was kept in check by the army of Moreau, which still occupied its formidable position in the neighbourhood of Genoa; and, although inferior in point of numbers, prevented the advance of his antagonist, by threatening to fall upon his rear.

While he was in such an honourable manner fighting for his country, the directors at the head of its government were plotting and intriguing against each other. Sieyes and Barras had already forced Treillard, Merlin, and La Reveillere to resign. Sieyes meditated a new revolution; but having, or pretending to have, more capacity to write a constitution than courage to defend it, he looked out for some young military man of talents to support him, and to realize his metaphysical reveries; and he fixed his choice upon General Joubert. To engage Joubert so much the more in his interests, Sieyes married him to Mademoiselle

De Semonville, the daughter of his friend Mons. De Semonville, whom he at the same time nominated ambassador to Holland. Joubert was therefore sent to Italy as a general in chief; and Moreau, without resistance, resigned his command to a young man, who, in 1796, when the latter excited the admiration of Europe by his victories and retreat, was only a colonel under Buonaparte, who, in 1798, before he left France, strongly recommended Joubert to the Directory, as a young officer whom it might trust as a patriot, or employ as a commander.

Before Joubert's arrival in Italy, numerous supplies had been sent thither, and the French troops were not much inferior in number to those of the allies: he therefore carried orders with him to act on the offensive, and to relieve Tortona, then closely besieged by the Russians. Moreau had no longer any command; but, with his usual patriotism and generosity, he consented not only to remain with the army a few days longer, but even to accept of an inferior situation, in case of a battle. On the 14th of August, while Moreau and Joubert were busy in reconnoitring and observing a distant part of the enemy's lines, they received intelligence that

that the left wing of the French was attacked; for Suwarrow, conscious of his strength, had determined to anticipate the designs of the French, whom he knew to be always most formidable when they were the assailants. On their return, they found that the action had become general. Desirous of encouraging his troops, Joubert immediately advanced at the head of his staff, and received a mortal wound.

The loss of a commander has frequently caused the loss of many battles; but from the presence and courage of Moreau, the death of Joubert produced neither confusion nor dismay, nor repressed the ardour of the French soldiers. The enemy were received every where with intrepidity, and would have been obliged, perhaps, to have abandoned the field, but for the indiscreet valour of the right wing, which had advanced towards the plain in pursuit of the Allies. Advantage was immediately taken of this error by General Melas, who found means, with the Austrian cavalry, to turn the flank of the division under General St. Cyr; on which Moreau, who had re-assumed the command, was under the necessity of giving orders for a retreat, after having had two horses

shot under him. This measure was effected with his usual ability; and Suwarow, instead of attempting to follow him through the Bochetta, allowed him to occupy his former position near Genoa, whence he issued soon after to defeat General Klenau, who, from Tuscany, had advanced within four miles of the capital of Liguria; which proved that the army of Moreau, although frequently defeated by a superior force, was never effectually overcome, though its opposers were ever so numerous.

Moreau, in return for the many and brilliant services which he had rendered his country, received nothing but insults, ingratitude, and neglect, from the French Directors, who were as odious for their tyranny as contemptible for their meanness. It was not surprising therefore that he joined Buonaparte to overthrow the directorial government, although he did not quite approve either of the manner in which the Corsican usurped the power, or of the use which he made of it afterwards. He passed the winter of 1799 at Paris, and was often heard to say, that, until an honourable peace had restored the tranquillity and happiness of his countrymen, he would serve any person

person who should assume or usurp the executive government—either a Robespierre or a Bourbon; a Barras or a Buonaparte; but peace and order once returned, he would oppose all ambitious intriguers, sansculottes or princes, directors or consuls, who abused their power to enslave Frenchmen, and were infamous enough to deprive them of a liberty for which they had been fighting so many years, and for which they had made such numerous sacrifices. He repeated this language in all the societies that he frequented; and as there is little doubt but this came to the knowledge of Buonaparte, it may serve to explain a part of his late conduct towards this general.

In the beginning of 1800, Moreau took the command of the French army called the army of the Danube. The forces under him were as much superior to those under his opposer, the Austrian General Kray, as his talents surpassed those of all the Imperial generals acting against him. By occupying the Austrians in Germany, he prevented them from detaching any more forces into Lombardy, and prepared successes in Italy while he gained victories in Germany. The manner in which he led, and introduced General Kray to

employ himself in the vallies descending towards Brisgaw, at a time that he effected his real passage over the Rhine and Stein; the art with which he forced him, only by able manœuvres, to forsake the Lech, and afterwards the environs of Ulm; and at last, the boldness of his passage over the Danube—do him, in the opinion of military men, more honour than his victories over the same general at the same time.

The plan of the campaign for 1800 was drawn entirely by Moreau. In its outline it did not differ greatly from that of the two preceding campaigns, but the means were more proportionate to the end; it was intended to act with large masses against inferior numbers, and by means of a combined movement with the armies of Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, to end the contest with the capture of Vienna.

After the passage of the Rhine by the French, and the junction of General Lecourbe with the division of Moreau's army under Generals St. Suzanne and Richepanse, the Austrian commander, who had been completely deceived respecting the intentions as well as the forces of the enemy, was under the necessity of recurring to defensive operations. He accordingly

accordingly retired to a formidable position on the heights of Pfullendorf, which being strongly fortified, and defended by no less than sixty thousand men, was considered as impregnable. The action during the first day, May 3, when the centre and right only of the French participated in the attack, proved long and obstinate; and, as the enemy did not succeed in their attempts, the Imperialists were entitled to the claim of victory.

The combat was renewed next morning by sun-rise, and the centre of the Austrians obtained some advantage over the assailants; but part of their right wing, commanded by Prince Joseph of Lorraine, was chased from Stockach, and their magazines were there abandoned to the enemy.

On the 9th of May, all the French having been brought into action, the combat was once more renewed with an extraordinary degree of obstinacy: at length the Austrians and the subsidiary troops in the pay of England, after exhibiting prodigies of valour, finding their entrenchments forced on all sides, notwithstanding the incessant fire of a numerous artillery, and the junction of Archduke Ferdinand, deemed it proper to withdraw. But

even their retreat was unaccompanied with disorder; for they retired leisurely, fighting and disputing every inch of territory, first to Biberach, and then under the cannon of Ulm.

The whole circle of Suabia was now subject to French dominion; the magazines collected by the Imperialists on the banks of the Danube fell into their possession; the Duke of Wirtemberg was obliged to abandon his residence at Stutgard; while Augsburgh, Kempten, and Memingen were occupied by the invaders.

Thus had Moreau, after overcoming all opposition, already penetrated into the heart of Germany, where he was employed in levying contributions, and exacting supplies of corn and provisions. In the mean time the cabinet of Vienna, kept in constant alarm by his movements, and as yet uncertain of the final intentions of such an enterprising chief, was prevented from sending supplies to Italy, now become the scene of that contest which was to decide the future fate of Europe.

For the second time, therefore, Moreau enabled Buonaparte to be victorious in Italy; and it was to his successes and to his unparalleled manœuvres, that the Corsican owes the important

important consequences of the battle of Marengo, because, had the 25,000 Austrians destined to reinforce their army in Italy arrived there, it was absolutely impossible that the Imperial General Melas should have signed the armistice of the 16th of June, 1799; but as these 25,000 men had been detained in Germany, and had already shared in the defeats, by Moreau, of the army under General Kray, Melas could expect no succour, and was therefore, after the loss of the battle of Marengo, which he ought to have gained, under the necessity either of laying down his arms, or, what was worse, of seeking his safety in an armistice as humiliating as impolitic.

When, on the 19th of June, Moreau was apprised of the event of the battle of Marengo, he prepared to pass the Danube between Ulm and Donauwert. This he effected, after an obstinate resistance from General Sztaray, who, being advantageously posted on the celebrated plain of Hochstet, or Blenheim, disputed his ground with vigour and ability, though without success. The French were highly elated with this victory, which, by compelling Kray to retreat, and leave Ulm to its own strength, gained them possession of

part of the circle of Franconia, and that of the Lower Rhine from Suabia, to the line of neutrality of the North of Germany, protected by the King of Prussia.

Indefatigable in his exertions, Moreau immediately marched in pursuit of the retreating enemy, and having come up with them at Neubourgh, a new action and a new defeat ensued. After this victory, he entered Bavaria, established his head-quarters at Munich on the 8th of July, and was preparing for new exploits, when the armistice that had taken place in Italy was extended to Germany, and the Continent once more experienced a short respite from war.

While the Imperialists withdrew their detachments from the country of the Grisons on the one hand, so as to strengthen their position in Italy, and extended their front on the other, with an intention to cover the Hereditary States, the French army formed one grand uninterrupted line from the borders of the Rhine near Frankfort, to the shores of the Mediterranean, in the neighbourhood of Lucca.

On the 28th of July, the Austrian General Count de St. Julian had, without any powers of the Emperor, but seduced by the intrigues

of

of Talleyrand, signed at Paris the preliminaries of peace, between France and Austria, founded on the treaty of Campo Formio; but, faithful to his engagements with Great Britain, the Emperor disavowed this transaction. During these and other discussions, the armistice on the Continent had been suffered to expire; and the cabinet of Vienna, totally unprepared for a renewal of the contest, was under the necessity of soliciting a new truce. After some negociations between General Moreau on the one part, and the Count de Lehrbach on the other, a further suspension of arms was, on the 20th of September, by the Convention of Hohenlinden, agreed to for forty-five days, on terms that indicated the critical situation of the Austrian affairs; for the cities of Philipsburgh, Ulm, and Ingolstadt were presented, as a boon for this short respite, by the Emperor, who, with the Archduke John, had repaired to the head-quarters of his army.

Before Moreau left Paris, in the spring of 1800, to take the command of the army, he had obtained permission to pay his addresses to a young, beautiful, rich, and accomplished lady; he declined, however, celebrating the nuptuals, until his victories had procured his

country a safe and honourable peace, fearful, as he said, that Mars, *jealous of* Venus, *should treat him à la* Joubert.* After the Convention of Hohenlinden, and when the Austrian and French Ministers were negociating a definitive peace at Luneville, which he, from the known weakness of Austria, believed certain, he went to Paris, and, as an elegant historian has said, entwined the roses of Hymen with the laurels of Mars.

Rendered proud and vain by the success that he had met with in all his undertakings, the Buonaparte of the autumn 1800, was become a very different man from the Buonaparte whom Moreau left in the spring; agitated by absurd schemes, and tormented by an ambition which he had but little prospect of gratifying. He, however, received Moreau as he ought to have received a general to whom he owed every thing. In the presence of all the foreign ambassadors, and of many French generals, he said:—*General Moreau, you have made the campaign of a consummate and great Captain, whilst I have only made the campaign of a young and fortunate man.* The truth and

* General Joubert was killed within a month after his marriage with Mademoiselle Semonville, daughter of the French minister at the Hague.

GENERAL MOREAU.

GEN.L MOREAU's DISASTER BEFORE DRESDEN

and justness of this remark no military man, either of the present or of any future age, can deny.

Moreau had not been married a fortnight before he was obliged to repair to his head-quarters, because, precisely three weeks after the Austrian and French Plenipotentiaries had met at Luneville, for the express purpose of renewing the negotiations for peace, a rupture of the armistice took place, and hostilities were once more resorted to. The French, unable to force Austria to a separate treaty, and relying on the ascendency which they had obtained, determined to recommence the war.

He therefore instantly repaired to his head-quarters, and published an address to the soldiers, in which he requested them "*to exhibit the same gallantry, and the same disregard to the rigours of the season, which they had before displayed, when employed in the defence of Fort Kehl, and the conquest of Holland.*

While Augereau, after defeating the raw levies of the Elector of Mentz, was penetrating through Franconia, to communicate with the commander in chief General Moreau, the latter put himself at the head of the most numerous army

army that France had ever sent into Germany, and proceeded in quest of the enemy. Their advanced guards encountered each other at Haag, and the Austrians obtained the superiority. The French were beaten at the same time at Rosenheim; an event to be attributed chiefly to the bravery of the troops of the Prince De Condé, in the pay of Great Britain.

The Archduke John, now at the head of the Imperial army, being flushed with these unexpected advantages, collected all his forces, and immediately marched in search of the republicans, whom he attacked in three columns with an unusual degree of vigour. The rival armies encountered each other on the 3d of December, at seven o'clock in the morning, between the rivers Iser and Inn, on the heights which extend from Bierkrain to Neumark, and near to the very spot where the armistice had been concluded but a short time before.

A variety of circumstances contributed to render this action fatal to the Austrians; and it must not be omitted, that a severe fall of snow, early in the morning, prevented that regularity in point of operation which ought always to accompany a combined movement. But although this event deranged the original plan,

plan, it in no degree diminished the ardour of the combatants, who seemed insensible to the fury of the elements; so that victory appeared for a long time uncertain on which side she should declare.

But Moreau, who had anticipated the intentions of the Archduke, having ordered General Richepanse to assail the centre column in flank, at the moment it commenced an attack, this unexpected evolution produced great confusion; and the left column being pierced nearly at the same time, while that on the right encountered unexpected obstacles, the Imperialists were forced to retire at three o'clock in the afternoon. Equally dreadful in attack as in retreat, he annoyed their march, and hung upon their rear with such perseverance and effect, that they were saved by the approach of night alone from total destruction.

The battle of Hohenlinden appears to have been one of those calculated to decide the fate of an empire; for the greater part of the baggage, more than eighteen thousand prisoners, and near one hundred pieces of cannon, constituted the trophies of victory; while the enemy

my fled in disorder beyond the Inn, and carried with them terror and dismay.

As the French were no less fortunate in Italy, the situation of the Austrian Monarchy was never so critical, even in the early part of the reign of Maria Theresa, as at this moment; for although the Archduke Charles had been recalled, and new subsidies, granted under the name of a loan by Great Britain, had enabled the Emperor to recruit the Imperial armies, his fate appeared inevitable. The French, after the splendid victory of Hohenlinden, had, on the 25th December, crossed the Inn and the Ips, and, arriving at Steyer, in Upper Austria, were within seventeen leagues of Vienna, now menaced by no less than four different generals. The Gallo-Batavian troops, under Augereau, at the same time approached the hereditary states, by coasting along the Danube; Macdonald, in possession of the mountains of the Tyrol, had the option of either descending into Italy or Germany; while Brune blockaded Mantua, and was ready to penetrate into the mountains of Carinthia, with a view to form a junction with Moreau.

Under these circumstances, the Imperial cabinet

binet proposed an armistice, which was, on the 25th December, executed between the Archduke Charles and General Moreau at Steyer, and which, according to his expression, "*put it out of the power of the House of Austria to resume hostilities.*" To procure a suspension of arms of only forty-five days, it was agreed that the Tyrol should be wholly evacuated, and the fortresses of Bruneau and Wurtzburgh delivered up to the French.—These conditions were certainly very hard; but they were the forerunners of a general pacification on the Continent.

In this short sketch of Moreau's life, a more minute or detailed relation of all his brilliant military operations cannot be expected: they would require volumes to describe them so as to do justice to the subject.

On the 9th of February, 1801, a Definitive Treaty of Peace was signed at Luneville, between Austria and France; and, in a short time after, General Moreau resigned the command of an army, which had reduced Austria more in one campaign than it had been before in three centuries, and procured to France a peace, which the ambition of French rulers, the negotiations of French ministers, and the

plans

plans of French politicians, had in vain desired, plotted, and intrigued for, during the last two centuries.

Between the Convention of Luneville of the 26th January, 1801, and the Definitive Treaty of the 9th of the following February, Moreau had openly declared his opinion, "that by the humiliating and dishonourable terms imposed upon Austria by France, it was plain that Buonaparte, with all his political hypocrisy and revolutionary Machiavelism, with all his pretended wish for peace, and affected endeavours to procure it, never sincerely desired, nor could expect more than a suspension of arms; because a peace dictated by the power of the bayonet, could only be preserved by bayonets; and might as easily be annulled by the power of the bayonets of foreigners, as commanded by the bayonets of France."*

Buonaparte had always spies in the different republican armies, but particularly in the army commanded by Moreau; there is, therefore, little doubt but that all his transactions and conversations had been reported to the usurper. After the battle of Hohenlinden, and when he approached Vienna, he had several secret

*See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Brumaire year X. No. II. pag. 6.

secret conferences both with the Archduke Charles and the Archduke John, and one audience even with the Emperor. On these occasions, it is said, *Moreau promised that Tuscany should continue to belong to the Austrian Grand Duke*, and that one of his aides-de-camp was therefore sent to Paris with a remonstrance to Buonaparte, on the necessity and policy of not driving Austria to despair by any degrading sacrifices. "*That by consenting to restore Tuscany to its former Sovereign, France was certain to gain the friendship and gratitude of Austria, without violating any engagements with Spain; but by giving up Tuscany to a Spanish prince, France made Austria irreconcileable, without gaining any thing by its impolitic liberality to Spain.*" *

The same aid-de-camp who carried this remonstrance to Buonaparte had a letter from his general to Talleyrand, nearly to the same effect. That the minister might be prepared to second his views when consulted, he had orders to deliver this letter before he spoke with the Consul. Talleyrand had at all times tried to obtain Moreau's friendship, or at least to wheedle himself into his good opinion.—

Before

* La Vie Politique du General Moreau, pag. 24.

Before he left Paris in the spring, for his last campaign, at an entertainment which Talleyrand gave him, he insinuated, plainly enough, "*that if merit and services were the only successful pretensions to the supreme power in a republic, General Moreau would have no rival to oppose his governing the French Commonwealth;*" but since his victories had consolidated Buonaparte's consulate, and Talleyrand's place depended upon his good graces, he thought this would be a fit opportunity as well to ensure it, as to gratify the Corsican Consul, by humiliating the French general in the eyes of foreign sovereigns.* Had he been as good a politician as a general, he might have foreseen and prevented this affront, by knowing the real value of protestations of attachment and friendship from a man of Talleyrand's immoral character. This crafty intriguer, therefore, easily dissuaded his aid-de-camp from mentioning any thing, or delivering his dispatch concerning this business, "*until it had been well considered what was to be done, because he could not answer for what otherwise might be the consequence, knowing, as he did, how intent the First Consul*

* See Intrigues du Ch. M. Talleyrand, Neuchatel, 1891, pag. 69.

sul was to create a Bourbon a king in Tuscany." *

This officer arrived at Paris on the 24th of January at night; and on the 25th in the morning orders were sent by the telegraph to Joseph Buonaparte, at Luneville, to sign immediately the Preliminaries of Peace, by which Austria renounced Tuscany. During that day Moreau's aid-de-camp went several times in vain to confer with Talleyrand, who was not visible, although he remained at the Foreign Office till near twelve o'clock at night; but the next day, in the forenoon, M. de Hauterive, one of Talleyrand's confidential secretaries, called upon him with the information, that government had just learned, by a telegraphic dispatch, that the Preliminaries between France and Austria had been signed at Luneville; that Talleyrand, therefore, advised him to go back to his commander as soon as possible, and to represent to him the necessity of dropping his interference for Austria for the present. He assured the aid-de-camp, at the same time, that Talleyrand had not communicated a word to Buonaparte as to the contents of Moreau's letter, and that the general would, of course, on his return to Paris, be

* Ibid. pag. 62.

be received as if nothing had occurred to alter the friendship between the First Consul and his first general, so indispensably necessary and useful for both parties, for their common cause, and for their *common country*.*

Ever since 1796, great jealousy had existed between the officers and privates of the two armies of Germany and of Italy, or those of Moreau and of Buonaparte: General Moreau was beloved and esteemed; Buonaparte feared and hated, because he was always very severe, and often inhuman. After the peace of Campo Formio, and when the expedition to Egypt was determined upon, Buonaparte cajoled and seduced Generals Kleber and Desaix, with other great captains, from the army of Moreau, whom he wished to insulate as much as possible from all men of military renown or capacity. These mean and underhand manœuvres Buonaparte continued with more success, when the Treaty of Luneville had pacified the continent, dissatisfied Moreau, and confirmed

* Les Intrigues du Ch. M. Talleyrand, Neuchatel, 1801, pag. 64, 65, and 66; in which it is said to be a "known fact, that Spain paid to the Corsican family no less than twenty millions of dollars for Tuscany, besides what Talleyrand obtained from Chevalier D'Azara, the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, which was no less than 500,000 dollars.

firmed the consular power. Some of his generals were then nominated senators, others counsellors of state, prefects, or tribunes. The young Richepanse, who, from being his aide-de-camp, had become one of his best and most faithful generals, Buonaparte bribed over, and sent to die in the West Indies, as a Captain-general over Guadaloupe. Even his confidential secretaries and aides-de-camp he bought over to his interest, either by advancement or by pensions; so that within six months after the Peace of Luneville, he had not a general who had served with him, and with him shared the glory of victory, whom Buonaparte's emissaries had not tempted or debauched by their great offers:

The officers and men of Moreau's victorious army the usurper dispersed all over France, Holland, and Italy; and those incorruptible men and brigades, reported by his spies as most attached to their former general, Buonaparte sent to be butchered by the negroes in St. Domingo, or to perish by the pestilence of that unhealthy climate.

But, notwithstanding Buonaparte's ingratitude, intrigues, jealousy, and schemes against Moreau, he is yet the general most admired

in

in France both by the army and people; and the kind of disgrace and neglect in which Buonaparte suffers him to remain, augments the uncommon interest which his extraordinarily brilliant military performances have created. His modesty, also, when compared with the insolence and presumption of Buonaparte, excites an enthusiasm, of which the Corsican must sooner or later be the victim, should he have ambition, or rather character enough, to give any encouragement to his admirers and adherents.*

His younger brother is a tribune, and the only person of his family employed under the consular government. As a reward for all his eminent services, General Moreau enjoys no more than the half-pay of other general officers,

* After the conspiracies of the jacobins and royalists against the Corsican, discovered in the latter part of 1800, particularly that of the infernal machine, the soldiers at Paris were heard to say, that *Dauphin* Moreau would soon be a Consul. The officers of two regiments were on this account all broken, and the soldiers ordered to the colonies. Still, however, Moreau is called, both by the soldiers and by the common people, the *Dauphin*, or heir of the throne.

In *Les Nouvelles a la Main, Ventose*, year XIII. No. III. pag. 3. is said, "Moreau was the only person who could, without danger to himself, have delivered France from Buonaparte's tyranny. Even the usurper's body guard would have hailed him as a deliverer. His want of character has been more advantageous to the Corsican than even the victory of Marengo.

cers, 12,000 livres, or 500l. sterling; and had he not married a lady with a large fortune, he would now be another Cincinnatus, obliged to cultivate his own lands; because, during his many campaigns and numerous victories, although he was sometimes forced to see and permit the plunder committed by his generals and officers, he was never accused, nor even suspected, of sharing it with them. On the contrary, he more than once punished with rigour, or degraded with *eclat*, those guilty of committing excesses or vexations, either by arbitrary requisitions, by forced loans, or illegal contributions. In the summer, 1801, he degraded General Vandamme, and sent him to the rear of his army;* and the Chief Commissary Pommier, who, with Vandamme, had been guilty of exactions and extortions in Suabia, he ordered to be tried before a council of war, which condemned him to be shot.

This upright and generous conduct was a direct reproach to Buonaparte, who not only partook

* This Vandamme is now one of Buonaparte's favourite generals, and is governor at Lille: he is the son of a barber, and was, before the Revolution, condemned to the gallows for house-breaking, and marked on his shoulders with a hot iron. In 1794, he sent to the guillotine the judge whose humanity had, in 1788, saved his life.

partook of the plunder with his generals, but distributed among them provinces and cities, from which they might procure plunder;* and neither in Italy nor in Egypt were any of his generals punished on this account, although any one of his soldiers who took by force the value of a sixpence, was shot on the instant without a trial.

Moreau was therefore as much respected by his officers, as dear to his soldiers; while Buonaparte was despised by his officers, and detested by his privates; and any one who, since the Revolution, has studied the contemptible

* In 1797, Augereau complained to Buonaparte, that by all his campaigns he had not yet made 100,000 crowns: soon after, when the Venetians rose against the French, during Buonaparte's march towards Leoben, Buonaparte sent for Augereau, and told him to bring him his 100,000 crowns and he would procure him means to gain a million or two. Augereau obeyed, and was made the President over the Military Tribunal erected at Verona to try the Insargents; and of five hundred Venetian Nobles accused, *only five* perished; and of as many clergymen, *only eight* were shot: the former sold or pawned their estates to save their lives, and the latter sacrificed the treasures of their churches and saints, to avoid martyrdom by French Atheists. One of Augereau's mistresses at Paris, Madame Chauvin, wears a diamond cross worth ten thousand Louis d'ors, which formerly belonged to a Madona at Padua.

In three months time Augereau pocketed six millions, of which Buonaparte borrowed one million, which sum, Augereau says, he has forgot to repay.—*Les Nouvelles à la Main, Ventose*, an xi. No. 5.

temptible character of modern Frenchmen, by turns elevating vicious and worthless men into power, and sending genius and virtue to the scaffold, finds no contradiction, or cause for surprise, in seeing an abhorred Corsican upon the throne, and a beloved general and Frenchman in obscurity and disgrace.

When Moreau was a general commanding in Flanders, and his father suffering under the axe of the guillotine of terrorism, Buonaparte was only a colonel, sharing in the crimes of terrorism, and a terrorist himself. Moreau owed his promotion to his military talents, improved and guided by the counsel of his friend Pichegru: Buonaparte owed his first advancement to the massacre of the Toulonese in 1793, and to the recommendation of his accomplices, Barras, Freron, and Robespierre the younger. Merit made Moreau, in 1795, a commander in chief; the crimes committed by Buonaparte in another massacre of the Parisians, in October, 1795, procured him the command of the army in Italy. Moreau often retarded victory, by sparing the lives of his soldiers; Buonaparte obtained victory by always, and often without necessity, sacrificing thousands of his soldiers. During the retreat

of Moreau from Bavaria, in the autumn of 1796, he was more careful for the preservation of his soldiers than of himself; and he more than once exposed his own life, to prevent his sick and wounded men from falling into the hands of the enemy: before the retreat from Syria, in the spring of 1799, Buonaparte caused all his sick and wounded soldiers to be poisoned; and all those taken ill or wounded during his retreat, he left to be butchered by the Turks and Arabs. Moreau studied only the preservation and honour of his army; Buonaparte, his own advantage and preservation at their expence. Moreau was courageous and vigorous during the attack, but humane and generous after victory: Buonaparte was cruel and outrageous in battle; fierce and unfeeling after victory.—In 1794, Moreau, at the risk of his life, saved several hundred Hanoverian prisoners at Nieuport: in 1799, Buonaparte murdered, in cold blood, several thousand Turks at Jaffa, who had for some days been his prisoners of war. In the winter of 1796, Moreau sent Buonaparte considerable supplies of his best troops, with which the Corsican commanded the peace of Leoben and of Campo Formio: in the winter of 1797, Buonaparte treated

treated Moreau with contempt, after having, by his plots, undermined his reputation, and caused his disgrace. An intriguer at the head of armies, and a tyrant at the head of government, Buonaparte's only study was to usurp power, and tyrannize over France with his armies; whilst Moreau, modest as unassuming, liberal as unaspiring, commanded armies, and served the cause of his country, for the liberty and welfare of his countrymen, without any ambition for rank, or any intrigues to obtain dominion.

When, in 1801, Barras was sent into exile at Brussels by Buonaparte, Moreau bought his estate, Grosbois, belonging formerly to Louis XVIII. and there he chiefly passes his time with his amiable wife, in the company of some few, but chosen friends. Report says, that his principal occupation is the continuance of the history of his campaigns; and as he is an accomplished writer, as well as an illustrious warrior, when he favours the world with his publication, it must be both highly valuable and greatly interesting.

Moreau does not approve of the changes that Buonaparte has made in the government, more than of the peace which he concluded

with Austria and England: he predicted the short duration of the latter, and he insists on the uncertainty of the former. He has often expressed himself, that, despot for despot, he prefers a Bourbon to a Buonaparte, a Frenchman to a Corsican. He has exposed Buonaparte's insolence towards foreign nations, and his tyranny and oppression over Frenchmen; he has condemned the impudence of his consulate for life, the shamelessness of his nominating a successor, the hypocrisy of his religious concordat, and the affectation of his ridiculous legion of honour.* The immorality of Buonaparte's republican government, the extravagance and profusion of his family, the prodigality of his courtiers, the lavish expenditure of his generals, and the wasteful and destructive expences and irregularities of his ministers, senators, prefects, tribunes, and other placemen, are often held out by him to his countrymen as a proof of the corruption, and an evidence of the unfitness of the present consular constitution, forced upon Frenchmen by

* In the summer of 1802, shortly after the institution of Buonaparte's legion of honour, Moreau said, in the presence of several foreigners who dined with him, that as they approved of the sauces of his cook, *he should decree him a* SAUCEPAN OF HONOUR.

by this Corsican adventurer. In the spring, 1803, at a ball at Madame Recamier's, where many of Buonaparte's favourites were present, he loudly said, "*It is, and must be, an eternal indelible shame and reproach to thirty millions of Frenchmen, not to find among themselves one individual with talents enough to govern them, and to suffer the despotism of a despicable and cruel foreigner, who has waded through floods of French blood, to usurp the throne of France.** Since that time he has never been invited by Madame Racamier to any of her routs or parties.

This language is very different from that contained in Buonaparte's commanded or bought addresses; and if known to him, which it probably is, must excite his jealousy, hatred, and vengeance. He has, however, hitherto been obliged not only to dissemble, but to treat his rival and enemy with more regard than he shews to emperors or kings. Before Buonaparte left Paris, in the summer, 1803, on his journey to Brabant, he exiled every general not in employment at Paris: but as Moreau's estate is only twelve miles from that city, he goes thither several times in the week,

* Les Nouvelle à la Main, Germinal, an xi. No. 3, pag. 5.

either to visit his friends, or to frequent the theatres: the Corsican dared not, however, insult Moreau with such a proceeding; he, therefore, invited him to an interview at Berthier's house. Buonaparte began the conversation by mentioning some complaints, although he at the same time insinuated his respect for Moreau as a general, and his esteem for him as a citizen. He told him that he might command any place in his disposal, except that of a consul. He offered to make him a duke, or hereditary sovereign of Parma and Placentia, and in return he only demanded his friendship. Moreau's answer united to the frankness of the soldier the generosity of the patriot: he said, "*he was the personal enemy of no man; but the irreconcileable foe of all men, whether princes or sans-culottes, who tyrannized over his countrymen; that in serving his country he had only done his duty, without any ambition for power, or expectation of reward; and should foreigners again attack it, and he were certain that his endeavours would procure his countrymen that freedom for which they had fought so many and bloody battles, he would again offer his services; but he would never draw his sword until he was convinced that his military talents*

talents would be of other use to his fellow citizens than merely to leave them the choice of tyrants;" and without waiting for an answer, he retired.*

The writer of this has been Moreau's prisoner and guest; has associated with him in Germany and in France, at Munich and Stutgard, at Paris and Grosbois; has been at his military parade, when attended by all his generals, aides-du-camp, and officers; and at his table when surrounded by elegance, beauty, and fashion: he has seen him in his camps on the Rhine and the Danube, and at his balls and routs at Strasburg and Paris; and has always found him the same amiable, agreeable, modest, and unassuming man; although at all times, in all places, and in all companies, a military enthusiast, whether in the society of ladies, or in a circle of officers, at the head of his table, or at the head of his army, leading his soldiers to battle, or handing a lady to dance; but so lively, amusing, and intermixed

 with

* Buonaparte often ridicules Moreau's military conversation; he told somebody, who reported it to Moreau, that he looked upon him to be *a true military pedant.* Some time after Moreau invited to dinner General Le Fevre, formerly a private in the guards, at present Buonaparte's favourite and senator; when at table, he said,--- "I am called a military pedant---it may be true enough; *but you and I know a man who is both a military hypocrite, and a political impostor.*"

with anecdotes, is his conversation, that even French coquettes have listened to it in preference to the flattery of their gallants.

It is impossible for any person of education to be in Moreau's company half an hour without considering him as a great military character, whose thoughts and words are those of an officer of eminent talents, and much experience, and whose only passion is military glory.

To an open and pleasing countenance, he unites soft and insinuating manners; and to the frankness of the soldier, he joins the becoming ease of the courtier, without the licentiousness of the one, or the vices of the other. Frenchmen allow him the liberal good-nature of a Turenne, to whom he is compared for his able tactics, and the vigour and patriotism of Henry IV. whom he resembles as a skilful warrior. They say, that in his attacks he is a Gustavus Adolphus and a Condé, and in his retreats a Xenophon and a Belleisle.

All the censure attached to him, even by his enemies, is, that he continued to serve the assassins of a father whom he dearly loved; and was ungrateful toward his friend Pichegru, whom he could not but highly esteem; but it may

may be said, without fear of contradiction, or charge of partiality, that, with the *single* exception of Pichegru, he is the first, the ablest, and the *purest*, of all the French republican generals, and the one to whom France is the most indebted, because Melas lost the battle of Marengo, whereas Moreau gained the battle of Hohenlinden.*

* It is the opinion of all French generals, that Melas lost the battle of Marengo, but that Buonaparte did not gain it; that Melas was defeated by his own faults, but that Buonaparte was not victorious by his own talents or valour; and that he swindled Italy from Austria by the political incapacity of its commander, as much as by his military ignorance.

When the Austrian general, Count De St. Julien, carried the dishonourable armistice of the 16th of June, 1800, accepted by Melas, to Buonaparte, the present French ambassador at Portugal, Lasnes, with other French generals, shewed Count De St. Julien the French camp; and in passing by two six-pounders, he said to his companions, "*Citizens! let us bow to those cannons; they were the only two not in the power of our enemy when the late victory declared itself in our favour.*" The feelings of the Austrian on this occasion must have been stronger than even the indelicate impudence of the Frenchman. *Histoire secrete de la Bataille de Marengo, par un Chouan, page* 12.

EMANUEL JOSEPH SIEYES,

ONE OF BUONAPARTE'S SENATORS.

E. J. SIEYES, commonly called the Abbé Sieyes, was born at Frejus, in Provence, in 1748; and before the Revolution he was *vicaire general* to the Bishop of Chartres, a canon, and chancellor of the church of Chartres.

A christian priest and a preacher of atheism, a subject to a king and an apostle of equality, Sieyes was received as governor and instructor to the young Baron Matthew Montmorency, a nobleman of one of the first families in France, nephew to a cardinal and to a bishop, and grandson to a prince; but, as might be expected, the sophistry of Sieyes soon perverted the loyalty of his pupil: his lessons caused young Montmorency to forget what he owed to his God, to his king, to his country, to his family, and to himself, and at an early age to become an associate with La Fayette and his accomplices.

In most noble families in France, some years before the Revolution, it was the fashion to trust the education and the conduct of their children

children to persons as loyal and religious as Abbé Sieyes.

For his promotion in the church, and for his nomination as a deputy to the States-General, he was indebted to the Montmorency family; he had, however, already caused himself to be noticed by his philosophical connexions with D'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet, and their associates.

Sieyes did not wait for the Revolution, before he published and professed his dangerous and antisocial ideas. In 1787 he circulated several of his writings, full of metaphysical subtilty and anarchical precepts, but in a dull and heavy style; more fit to tire the curious or the studious, than to instruct or persuade the ignorant or the inquisitive. These writings were little read, and less praised. The vanity of Sieyes was therefore hurt; and he determined, if possible, to revenge upon mankind at large, the neglect which his imaginary merit met with from men of letters in France; unfortunately for France and Europe, he has since been in situations that have enabled him to carry his determination into effect.

A member of the Tiers-Etat, Abbé Sieyes became one of the first opposers of the distinctions

tinctions between the clergy and the nobility; and he was one of the principal movers and promoters of the union of the three orders in a National Assembly. On the 10th and 15th of June 1789, he strongly urged this *first* revolutionary measure towards equality, which at last was decreed.

From the benevolence of Louis XVI. he had received several ecclesiastical livings; and having an opportunity, in the family of Montmorency, to mix with many of the King's courtiers and ministers, he must have known his sovereign's patriotic and humane disposition; nevertheless, when the King had some troops collected near his residence, for the protection of himself, his throne, and his family, he, on the 8th of July 1789, was ungenerous enough to throw out, in the tribune of the National Assembly, the most illiberal suspicions of the intentions of his king, and the most infamous calumny against his patriotism.

Sieyes had not been three months a deputy, before he announced himself a traitor and a rebel, and enlisted under the colours of the Orleans faction: a revolutionary charnel-house, the receptacle of every thing that was corrupt, ambitious, and vile.

When

When any questions were debated, or any plans proposed for the improvement of his country, or for the relief of his countrymen, from which his personal interest or fortune might suffer, he laid aside the character of the partizan and the innovator for that of the priest. On the 10th of August, 1789, he justly opposed the suppression of clerical tythes. He then used an expression, always applicable to himself and to his accomplices, exclaiming, in the midst of the discussion on this subject, "*You wish to be free, and you do not know how to be just.*" On the 7th of September following, however, when he opposed the question for giving the royal prerogative of the *veto* to the King, he forgot to be just himself, though he said he desired to be free.

Sieyes was deeply implicated in the cruel and unfortunate insurrection of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789. The Count De La Chartre deposed upon oath before the tribunal of the Chatelet, that he had heard him say to a person who reported that there were movements at Paris, "*I knew there were movements, but I do not understand any thing about* THESE; *they proceed in a contrary sense.*"—

When

When he was himself called upon to declare upon oath what he knew on this subject, he affirmed *that he knew nothing*, but, with all other good citizens, was indignant at the scenes that took place. In these four lines are three different persons—the plotter, the perjurer, and the atheist, united in one individual—the conspirator.

The King had been prevailed upon to give him some vacant and rich abbeys; and from this period he became a strenuous defender of the church-lands, against Talleyrand, and other revolutionary spoilers. He wrote a work, called, *Observations on the Property of the Clergy*, and in every debate resisted its sale. This is only mentioned as a measure of his *patriotism*. But it is to be recorded as a proof of his modesty and gratitude, that when he heard of these donations from the King, he said, "*At last the court begins to know its duty, and to do what it should have done ten years ago.*" *

During the year 1790, when he apprehended that the violence of factions would bring about the proscription of the factious, and that those

* See La Modestie du Sieyes, a pamphlet printed by Le Normant, 1791, page 16.

those who made themselves most conspicuous would be the first victims, he seldom ascended the tribune to speak, but chiefly employed his time in silence in the committees. He now began to wrap himself up in a mysterious obscurity, and has continued so in the several assemblies of which he has been a member; and to this, as well as to his revolutionary Machiavelism, may be ascribed his escape in all the bloody conflicts between all the cruel rebellious parties, fighting or intriguing for power, and proscribing or destroying each other.

Sieyes had proposed, in the constitutional committee, a declaration of the rights of man; but it was objected to, as being too metaphysical. He succeeded better in his plan of dividing France into departments, districts, and municipalities; this measure was approved and decreed by the National Assembly, and is yet continued.

In 1791 he was elected a member of the department at Paris, of which the Duke de la Rochefoucalt was the president, and Rœderer the secretary: here he distinguished himself by a speech in favour of religious toleration, and the liberty of worship. At this time the rabble

rabble at Paris, nick-named the *active citizens*, persecuted, insulted, or murdered every clergyman who had not taken the national oath, and proscribed the members of his congregation. It was then as dangerous to profess a religion, as in former times it was punishable to be of no religion. Atheistical fanaticism had taken the place of Roman Catholic superstition; the latter chastised individual persons, the former proscribed and punished whole communities. A decree of the department at Paris tried in vain to put a stop to these horrors; and Sieyes was forced to acknowledge, in the tribune of the National Assembly, *"that the sovereign people at Paris mistook their defenders for their assassins, and their assassins for their defenders; and in disturbing the worship of Christ, conducted themselves like devils!"*

Every member of any abilities in the Constituent Assembly wished to give France a constitution according to his own manner of thinking, and his own religious and political notions; it was not surprising, therefore, that a man of Sieyes' vanity, and who had so great an idea of his own talents as a legislator, should present a plan for the constitution of a democratical

cratical monarchy, or rather a monarchical anarchy; the Constitutional Committee, however, rejected it as impracticable, and the National Assembly confirmed this rejection.

During the imprisonment of Louis XVI. after the journey to Varennes, he was bought over to the court party; but was courted by the republicans and by the jacobins, who at that period intended to make France a commonwealth. To serve the King, and to silence faction, Barnave and Charles Lameth persuaded him to publish his political creed. In a letter in the Moniteur (July 1791) he expressed the following sentiments: "*Neither as being wedded to old customs, nor from any superstitious opinion of royalty, do I prefer monarchy; I prefer it because it is demonstrated, that all citizens enjoy a greater portion of liberty under a monarchical, than under a republican form of government; and that, in all possible hypotheses, man is more free under the former than under the latter.*" He has more than once repented of having given this publicity to his monarchical principles; and even the vote for the death of his King has not been able to atone for it.—Since 1791, this letter has been republished in divers newspapers

newspapers, no less than sixteen times, by his enemies; and every time some new explanation or apology has been printed by him in answer, which, instead of explaining, only exposed the sophistry of a traitor, and the treachery of a coward.

When religious schism followed the religious and political innovations of the Constituent Assembly, and revolutionary intruders usurped the sees of the christian bishops, he was offered the archiepiscopal see of Paris; which he declined, enjoying already, and without envy or danger, more than double the salary of a constitutional bishop.

Sieyes was far from approving the constitution of 1791; he predicted its short duration, and plotted with the leaders of the Legislative Assembly to have his prediction fulfilled. He continued to receive a pension from the King, and at the same time to conspire against monarchy, as the only means of trying a constitution of his own manufactory.

The Legislative Assembly having suffered the jacobins to overturn the throne, a National Convention was ordered to be convoked, and Sieyes was elected one of its members. In this den of brigands he did not profit by the influence

fluence which his opinion had over many of his fellow-rebels. He was trembling before the audacious revolutionary genius of a Danton, a Marat, and a Robespierre; and surrounded as he was by assassins, to save his life, he tried to be forgotten, and therefore sunk again into an apparent nullity. *It was fear* that caused him to be a regicide, and secretly to advise Robespierre to assume the dictatorship; *it was fear* that made him declare, on the 10th of November 1793, *that as he had for a long time renounced the christian religion, he had, of course, long given up the imposition of priestcraft and the hypocrisy of priesthood;* and *it was through fear* that, some time afterwards, he joined Chaumette, Hebert, and Momero, in their scandalous and sacrilegious farce in honour of Momero's mistress, called the *Goddess of Reason.*

During the Convention, until the death of Robespierre, Sieyes was seldom a member of a committee, never upon any mission, and only spoke twice in the tribune: when, after the 9th of Thermidor, more moderate tyrants had divided Robespierre's power, Sieyes conducted himself for some months with the same circumspection; but perceiving that a too long silence

silence might entirely bury him in oblivion, he again ascended the tribune, spoke with abhorrence of Robespierre's tyranny and cruelties, and in favour of the arrested or outlawed conventional members.

In 1795, he was, with Rewbel, sent to negociate, or rather to dictate a treaty to the Batavian Republic: he here conducted himself with that harshness and insolence which accompanied him in all his transactions, and never left him, but when fear forced him to dissemble, or to disguise a passionate temper full of hatred. In the annals of civilized Europe, and of negociations with independent, but conquered states, there is not an example of harder conditions imposed, or more dishonourable terms submitted to, than those contained in the treaty which Sieyes and Rewbel forced upon Holland; in which the Dutch gave up provinces, paid for independence, and consented to continue to be treated as subdued slaves to the vilest and most unfeeling of tyrants.

Sieyes differed from Rewbel and other revolutionary statesmen, in his opinion of the external, as well as of the internal politics of France. Not to excite too much the jealousy of

of Europe, he wished that the river Meuse should be the boundary of the French frontiers; but these being extended to the Rhine, prove that he has not been more successful as a politician than as a legislator.

When, in five years, a fourth constitution was to be tried on the French nation, in which the executive power had been invested in a directory of five members, Sieyes was elected one of the directors; but *fear* again got the better of his vanity; the bleeding scaffolds of terrorism, and the unsettled state of France, induced him to decline an honour which he desired, but trembled to accept.

The National Convention being changed into two Councils, he was one of the members chosen for the Council of Five Hundred. Here again he was seldom conspicuous as a speaker; he was, however, during the years 1796 and 1797, very active in the most important committees. It did not escape the observers of Sieyes' revolutionary consistency, that he was *one of the Committee of Five*, charged to find out means to compel judges, and other public functionaries, to swear hatred to royalty. That a man who had proclaimed monarchy the best of governments,

and

and in eighteen months after voted for the death of his King, and taken the oath of equality; that such a man should be made an instrument to torment and tyrannize over the consciences of royalists, is not surprising in a rebellion, where oaths have been ridiculed as trifles, and conscience has been laughed at as an absurdity.*

In 1798, when the invasion of Egypt was determined upon, he resigned his place in the Council of Five Hundred, and was appointed ambassador to the King of Prussia.

The insolence of the Directory, in sending so notorious a regicide ambassador to a King, was only surpassed by the weakness, meanness, or treachery of the Prussian ministers, in not only not advising their sovereign to resent it, but persuading him to degrade monarchy and monarchs, by enduring at his court the presence of one of the murderers of another sovereign

It was not in Prussia, however, where Sieyes found his reception the most flattering, and his

* On the 12th of April, Sieyes was in more danger from the vengeance of an individual than he had ever been from the fury of parties. Another apostate, of the name of Poule, a partizan of the terrorist Babœuf, wounded Sieyes in the hand and in the side with a pistol, with which he had intended to kill him.

his residence the most agreeable: he was excluded from more than one society into which all other foreign ambassadors were admitted; and, when admitted any where, he was shunned, despised, and often execrated. When he requested to be presented to the Field-Marshal Baron Knobelsdorff, this old and loyal warrior abruptly answered, "*Non, et sans phrase;*" in allusion to a cruel expression used by Sieyes, when he voted for the death of Louis XVI*. The behaviour of this hero, and of many other Prussians, will, if possible, palliate, in the eyes of posterity, the base and selfish conduct of the Prussian cabinet, both on this and on many other occasions.

But even the policy of the Directory, in sending Sieyes to Berlin, is doubted. Prejudice preceded his arrival there; suspicion watched him during his stay; and contempt accompanied him on his return to France. He was intriguing to engage Prussia to declare war against Austria, or at least to enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with regicide France; but he failed in both.

He

* "*La mort sans phrase,*" were the only words spoken by Sieyes, in voting for the death of his King.

He was relieved just in time from the blame of his political miscarriage, and from the shame of remaining any longer in a country where he was detested, by being elected to the vacancy in the Directory, in March 1799.

Since 1795, when he declined his former election as a director, dethroned kings of faction had only been sent into exile, but not to the scaffold, as in the times of Robespierre and of the National Convention. There was, besides, another motive—*He had never given up his favourite plan of being a legislator.* From the character of his countrymen, and from the discontent of the factious in the two Councils, he clearly observed that a new revolution was preparing; and he hoped that the time was at length come when he might be proclaimed a French revolutionary Lycurgus.

Sieyes had not been long in the Directory before he forced Treilhard, Merlin, and La Revelliere, three of the directors, to resign; and requiring to be supported in his plots by military courage, he fixed upon General Joubert as a proper person to defend with his sword the metaphysical reveries and productions of *his* brain. With the death of Joubert, the hopes and projects of Sieyes vanished; and he

was

was near becoming a victim of the jacobins' *contre-projet* to renew the reign of terror. The unexpected arrival of Buonaparte saved his life, but annihilated his ambition. He was, it is true, for some time a consul with Buonaparte; but he soon observed that the Corsican would be the *First, if not the only Consul*; this, however, was not the greatest mortification which he experienced from his new sovereign: a constitution, the work, the pride, and the ambition of his life, was laid aside for the laconic constitution of Daunou; and he was compelled to content himself with ease and obscurity amongst other rebels in the Corsican senate.

In sixteen months time Sieyes had been a member of the Council of Five Hundred, an ambassador, a director, a consul, and the first president of a senate, of which he was made one of the first members. To all these revolutionary honours and places, Buonaparte added the plunder of an estate belonging to the emigrated De Crosne family. This last was intended to satisfy his avarice for the loss which his ambition had suffered; or rather, to gratify one passion at the expence of another, because Sieyes is nearly as fond of money as ambitious of power or literary fame.

All these Corsican arrangements have, however, not contented him: he has more than once expressed, *that the present constitution is not yet the good one;* that is to say, that he is determined to have a trial of another. By those who are intimate with him, it is commonly believed, that he wishes for the re-establishment of a limited monarchy under its former dynasty; but that his vote for the death of Louis XVI. makes him doubt the pardon of Louis XVIII.; and, therefore, his plan is to offer the throne of France to the Orleans branch of the Bourbons.

Obstinate and despotic, but timid to the greatest degree, more base than passionate, Sieyes has been the soul and the servant of all the several factions; and he has survived them all. He had even some influence in the Constituent Assembly, notwithstanding he was regarded as an obscure logician, more fit to discuss, than to act, or to convince by his eloquence. His yellow and scraggy face, his wrinkled brow, his hollow eyes, his awkward attitude, his reserved policy, announce his excessively plodding, harsh, haughty, but cunning character; which the continual fear of exposing his life and fortune causes him habitually to wrap up in much circumspection and hypocrisy: in few

few words, however proud and full of hatred, he always takes care to keep on good terms with the ruling party, but only in such a way that he may desert it when overturned, without committing himself; and as his timidity is greater than his ambition, and his vanity is destitute of courage and energy, he is careful to be at a distance during the civil commotions and revolutionary storms which he often excites himself; but the victorious faction may always depend upon seeing him among its first adherents, first admirers—and first deserters when defeated.

Previous to taking leave of this famous, or rather infamous character, it is proper to notice his present situation, and to account for his present obscurity. Buonaparte, dreading the intriguing malignity of Sieyes, in order to secure himself against his future plots, has presented him with elegant apartments in the castle of Luxemburgh, now called the palace of the senate, where he is watched by Buonaparte's spies, scorned by his accomplices, and hated by all loyal men. A state-prisoner, under the appellation of a senator, he feels the oppression of a tyrant, whom his treachery to his king has assisted to elevate

into power; and he must content himself with being the slave of an usurper, after having revolted as the free subject of a lawful king*.

It is a melancholy reflection to a contemplative mind, that, in the life of a man of Sieyes' parts, not one trait offers itself, upon which the virtuous, the religious, and the loyal, can dwell with satisfaction. It may, however, be an useful lesson to modern reformers and fashionable innovators, to see that Sieyes (whose abilities are certainly great, and whose knowledge of mankind surpasses his abilities) is the slave of a man who, in 1789, was an object of public charity; after having, during fourteen years of revolution, exposed his life, lost his reputation, degraded his character, debased his condition, condemned his king, and denied his God†!

* Before Buonaparte left Paris for Brussels, he sent his first physician to Sieyes, to enquire after his health, and to advise him "to *drink the Spa waters during Buonaparte's absence.*" Sieyes took the hint, and left Paris for Spa, the day before Buonaparte set out on his journey. At this time a caricature was exposed for sale in the Palais Royal, in which a known great man was represented in royal robes, with a halter in one hand, and a guillotine in the other, searching for *somebody*, and calling out, *Sies? Ubi es?* The French pronounce Sieyes, Sies!!!

† Most of the particulars of this sketch are found in *Dictionnaire Biographique*, Art. Sieyes; in the British Mercury, by Mallet du Pan; and in *Les Annales du Terrorisme.*

FOUCHE DE NANTES,

ONE OF BUONAPARTE'S SENATORS, LATE MINISTER OF THE GENERAL POLICE OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

THE Consular Senator, Fouché De Nantes, has become notorious with many other Frenchmen, who, like himself, have, since the Revolution, been by turns abhorred for their cruelties, dreaded for their power, and envied for their influence, their places, and their riches; and who, without a single virtue to atone for all their crimes and enormities, enjoy under Buonaparte a kind of revolutionary prerogative and protection, due, no doubt, to the oblivion of what they have been or of what they have done, to the inconsistency of the French character, and to the consular favour, so liberally bestowed on every man of some talents, or of any revolutionary merit, let his past conduct be ever so reproachful, and his principles ever so corrupt or vicious.

Fouché was born in 1758, of poor parents, vintagers in a village near Nantes, in Brittany. A beggar-boy in the streets of that city,

he was noticed, and charitably adopted and educated by the friars of the order called *Oratoire*. Uniting with some ability great hypocrisy and cunning, he insinuated himself so far, as to be at an early age received a novice, and afterwards a member of that order. From being the humble valet of these men, he was no sooner advanced to be their equal, than he intrigued to be their master, and to rule men whom he had but lately served.

Several years before the Revolution, he spread disunion, and sowed discontent, among persons with whom he had made the vow of peace and concord; by his sophistry he changed the principles of the weak, tormented the consciences of the timorous, and staggered the faith of many members of this religious community; and although his superiors condemned him at different times, both to severe penance and close confinement, he returned to society as little corrected by seclusion as changed by repentance.

Since the impolitic destruction of the order of the Jesuits, the education of youth in France has been entrusted to their rivals, the friars of the order of Oratoire. The political, religious, and moral notions of modern Frenchmen, prove

prove what France and Europe have gained by this change. Fouché, instead of improving the morals, corrupted the opinions of those young men who had the misfortune to have him for their instructor. During the civil troubles in Brittany, in 1788, most of Fouché's pupils went from Nantes, to join at Rennes the insurgents against the legitimate authority. Since 1789, some of them have risen to revolutionary honours, others have ascended the republican scaffold; some have perished in foreign and civil wars, others, more unfortunate, are yet alive—the contemptible slaves of a Corsican usurper; but *all have approved, applauded, and served the Revolution**.

The instant monastic institutions were abolished by the Constituent Assembly, Fouché apostatized and married. Having, by this step, exposed himself to the severest punishment, in the event of a counter-revolution, he became, from fear, like most of the other men who have figured in the Revolution, a *soi-disant* republican, or rather terrorist, and as such distinguished himself until 1799.

At

* Fouché's speech in the Jacobin Club at Nantes, 8th Germinal, l'an ii, printed in the Gazette Nantaise of the 10th Germinal, l'an ii.

At the establishment of the Jacobin Club at Nantes, in 1789, he was the first friar of his order, and one of the first of the clergy in Brittany, who enrolled his name as a member of this club: he was therefore immediately elected one of its secretaries, and chosen its third president. The most sanguinary and violent measures were proposed and recommended by him. He particularly distinguished himself by his persecution of the clergy, and by his hatred to his own order. When the national seal was affixed to that religious abode where his youth had been cherished, protected, and instructed, he headed, as a deputy from the jacobins, the detachment of the national guards commanded on this duty, and hunted out of their retreat, and turned upon the world, men who had renounced it for ever, who were afflicted by sufferings and weakened by age, without means to subsist, without strength to labour, or intelligence and knowledge how to be industrious. Among others, he dragged forward the venerable old man, Father Cholois, who, thirty years before, had picked him up in the street, a beggar-boy, the solitary victim of want and disease*.

In

* La Denonciation des Bretons contre le Terrorist, le voleur, et l'assassin Fouché *dit de Nantes*, presenté à la Convention Nationale, le 15 Ventose, an. iii. page 2.

In 1792, when a National Convention was called, and its members were chosen from the vilest, most cruel, and corrupted class of men, he was nominated one of them by the blood-thirsty jacobins at Nantes. *His election took place in the morning; in the afternoon his electors murdered all the nobles and priests confined in the different prisons at Nantes; and in the evening he joined these assassins at their fraternal banquet, stained and reeking with the blood of their victims!* Father Cholois, his benefactor, was among those whom they had butchered. What must have been his feelings in his last moments, when he knew (as he did) that the murderers were the friends and associates of his adopted child—*the representative of the French people!**

Arrived in the capital, strongly recommended by the jacobins of Nantes, he, on the 19th of September, 1792, made his first entrance at the jacobin club at Paris, and, in a virulent speech, and with his usual revolutionary declamation, praised the deeds of the Septembrisers, and seconded Marat in demanding the heads of the King and Queen (then unhappy

 prisoners

* La Denonciation des Bretons contre le Terrorist, le voleur, et l'assassin Fouché, *dit de Nantes*, presenté à la Convention Nationale, le 15 Ventose, an iii. page 4.

prisoners in the Temple) and of 200,000 aristocrats, their adherents.*

From the first sittings of the National Convention, he joined the party called the Mountain, composed of Danton, Robespierre, Marat, and their accomplices; and with them he voted for the death of the King. Observing, however, from the malignity and agitation of the different factions, that it would be safer and more profitable to be employed in missions in the departments, he intrigued a long time, and at last, in July, 1793, was sent as a conventional deputy, first to the department of the Rhone, and afterwards to the departments of Allier and Nievre.

When Fouché arrived before Lyons, the chief city of the department of the Rhone, it was in open insurrection against the regicides of the National Convention. Lyons was without ramparts, ammunition, artillery, or provisions, and had no other garrison, no other soldiers or defenders, but its own inhabitants, mostly manufacturers and mechanics, accustomed to a sedentary life, generally as much enervating the mind as relaxing the body; but the Lyonese underwent a long and glorious siege,

* Journal des Jacobins, du 20 Septembre, 1792, No. 40.

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siege, and shewed so many traits of valour, skill, and intrepidity, that it occupied the French republicans a longer time, and cost them more lives, to enter this open, defenceless city, than to conquer any other fortified place that they attacked during the last war. It is well deserving of remembrance, that at this period twenty thousand Swiss, or Piedmontese troops, assisting the Lyonese, might have established a regular government in France, which, at present, millions of foreigners cannot effect; because La Vendée was then in arms and victorious, Toulon occupied by England, and disaffection reigned every where. Unfortunately for the lovers of order, monarchy, and religion, such has been the improvident and impolitic conduct of other nations in Europe, that they never took the advantage of any opportunity which a change offered, nor lost sight of a selfish policy which has endangered their very existence; and should they continue to act as they have hitherto done, sooner or later they must share the destiny of Switzerland and Piedmont, at present enslaved and conquered countries.

Among civilized people in arms, a noble defence, a generous courage, excite admiration, even

even in an enemy who is liberal himself; and in rejoicing at their victories, they esteem and spare the brave, and pity the misfortunes of the vanquished. In revolutionary France, a different maxim has been adopted and followed. When Lyons opened its gates (they were never forced) every loyal man was proscribed as a traitor, and every valorous person punished as a rebel. Political fanaticism, aided and attended by the fury usual to faction, and the cruelties always accompanying civil wars, ordered not only the destruction of the citizens, but of their dwellings and of their city*. Such

* The following is one of the many letters from Fouché, during his mission, to the National Convention; it is extracted from the Moniteur of the 4th Frimaire, an ii. of the republic, or 24th of November, 1793, No. 64, page 258, second column.

The Representatives of the Nation, Fouché de Nantes and Collot D'Herbois, to the National Convention. Commune Affranchie, (Lyons) 26th Brumaire, an ii. of the republic.

"CITIZENS COLLEAGUES,

"We proceed in our mission with the energy of republicans, who are penetrated with a profound sense of their character; this we shall retain; neither shall we descend from the exalted situation to which the nation has raised us, to attend *to the puny interests of some individuals* who are more or less guilty towards their country. *We have dismissed every one of them*, as we have no time to lose, no favours to grant. We are to consider, and only do consider, the republic and your decrees, which ordain us to set a great example, to give a signal lesson. We only listen to the cry of the nation, which

Such were the decrees of the National Convention, the then government of France, which had

which demands that all the blood of the patriots should be *avenged at once*, in a *speedy* and *dreadful* manner, in order that the human race may not lament its being spilled afresh.

" *From a conviction that this infamous city contains no one that is innocent*, except those who have been oppressed and loaded with irons by the assassins of the people, we are guarded against the tears of repentance; *nothing can disarm our severity.* This they were well aware of, who have obtained from you a *decree of respite in favour of one of our prisoners.* Who has dared to do this? Are we not on the spot? Have you not invested us with your confidence?—and yet we have not been consulted!

" We cannot forbear telling you, citizens colleagues, that *indulgence is a dangerous weakness*, calculated to rekindle criminal hopes, *at the moment when it is requisite to put a final end to them.* It has been claimed in behalf of one individual, it has been solicited in behalf of every one of his species, with a view of rendering the effect of your justice illusory. They do not yet call for the report of your first decree relative to the *annihilation of the city of Lyons*; but nothing has hardly been done yet to bring it into execution. *The mode of demolishing is too slow;* republican impatience demands more speedy execution. *The explosion of the mine, and the devouring activity of the fire alone*, can express the omnipotence of the people; *their will is not to be checked like that of tyrants; it must have the same effect as thunder.*

(Signed) " COLLOT D'HERBOIS and FOUCHE."

Extract of another letter, Moniteur, 13th Frimaire, an ii. (3d of December 1793) No. 73, page 294.

" CITIZENS COLLEAGUES,

" No indulgence, no procrastination, no tardiness in the punishment of crime, if you wish to produce a salutary effect. *The kings used delay when they had punishment to inflict, because they were weak*

had usurped all powers, executive as well as legislative: and what passion had decreed, frenzy and rage performed.

It would hardly have been possible to suppose that men were to be found who could improve upon the horrors and barbarities commanded by the National Convention, had not Fouché and Collot D'Herbois made that a fact, which was by many thought an impossibility. The Convention had sentenced its devoted victims to perish by the guillotine; but Fouché and his associates invented other means, more terrible and more expeditious, to desolate the city, and murder their fellow-citizens: they ordered the shooting, in mass, of hundreds of persons at the same time, or, as they wrote to the National Convention, they had found means *de vomier la mort à grand flots.* Sometimes several hundred persons, tied together with ropes, fastened to the trees of the Place de Brotteaux, were shot by picquets of infantry, which made the tour round the place, and, at

weak and cruel; the justice of the people ought to be as quick as the expression of their will. *We have adopted efficacious measures to manifest their omnipotence, so as to serve as an example to all rebels.*

" *We daily seize upon new treasure, &c.*

(Signed) COLLOT D'HERBOIS and FOUCHE.

at a signal, fired on the condemned. At other times, when the proscribed were killed by cannons loaded with grape-shot, they were tied two and two together on the same place, and ranged along the edge of a grave, or rather ditch, digged, according to Fouché's orders, by their nearest female relatives or friends, the day before their execution, and destined to receive their bodies: as it often happened that the grape-shot wounded and maimed more than it killed, the bayonets and swords of the revolutionary army dispatched those still alive and suffering from the wounds of the cannon.—One hour after the execution, those females who had digged the graves, most of them mothers, sisters, and wives, were forced, by his satellites, to fill them up; and to cover with earth the mutilated remains of their fathers, husbands, and brothers, who were always previously stripped naked and plundered, by a band of women in the pay of Fouché's revolutionary judges, called the *furies of the guillotine*. It is difficult to say which inspires more compassion or abhorrence; whether the dreadful situation of the female relatives of the sufferers, or the barbarous conduct of the furies of the guillotine, who regularly

accompanied

accompanied all condemned persons from the tribunal to the place of execution, hooting, shouting, insulting, and often calling to their remembrance the objects of their affection and tenderness, to sharpen their regrets and sufferings, and to make their agony and death so much the more tormenting.*

After one of these executions in mass, Fouché wrote thus to Collot D'Herbois, *his friend* and *colleague*, then a member of the Committee of Public Safety: "*Tears of joy run from my eyes and overflow my heart;*" and in a postscript to the same letter, he adds: "*We have but one means of celebrating our victory* (at Toulon); *we shall send* 213 *rebels this evening to the place*

* See Le Cris de Vengeance des Lionois, contre Collot D'Herbois et Fouché; chez Delandine, à Lion, an iii. (1795) page 2. In the note of page 5 it is related, that when, one day in November 1793, near 300 Lyonese citizens were ordered to be shot in mass, the wife of one of them, Daunois, had, according to the orders of Fouché, been sent the night before to dig her husband's and brother's grave. She was in a state of pregnancy, young and beautiful, and had only been married four months. In being dragged to the Place de Brotteaux, she miscarried, and was brought home senseless. When Daunois marched to his execution, the furies of the *guillotine* had Fouché's order particularly to torment him, and, among other things, told him, *that his wife*, whom he dearly loved, *was next decade to be married to one of the sans culottes, his executioner, whom they pointed out;* and, in fact, Fouché put her in requisition for this man; but she expired at the sight of him, when he presented Fouché's orders!!!

*place of execution; our loaded cannons are ready to salute them**." The unfeeling Fouché disgusts as much by his inhuman report, as he shocks by his more than savage cruelty; his language even adds to the blackness of his heart.

Fouché was not only cruel, but sacrilegious; and as a proof, one of the most hideous transactions

* Moniteur, 5 Nivose, an li. (25th of December, 1793) No. 95, page 389.

FOUCHE TO COLLOT D'HERBOIS.

"And we likewise, my friend, have contributed to the surrender of Toulon, by spreading terror among the traitors who had entered the town, *and by exposing to their view the dead bodies of thousands* of their accomplices. Let us shew ourselves terrible; let us *annihilate, in our anger, and at one single blow*, every conspirator, every traitor, that we may not feel the pain, *the long torture*, of punishing them as kings would do. *Let the perfidious and ferocious English be assailed from every quarter; let the whole republic turn into a volcano, and pour forth the devouring lava upon them: may the infamous island that produced those monsters, who no longer belong to the human species, be buried for ever in the waves!* Farewel, my friend—tears of joy run from my eyes and overflow my heart. (Signed) FOUCHE.

"P. S. We have but one way of celebrating our victory; we shall send 213 rebels this evening to the place of execution: our loaded cannons are ready to salute them."

According to the last mentioned pamphlet, *Les Cris de Vengeance*, this letter was dated the 22d of December; and that day, 192 Lyonese had been shot at the Place de Brotteaux, during a feast that Fouché gave to thirty jacobins, and twenty-two prostitutes, who, from their windows on the quay, could witness the butchery which Fouché had ordered, as he said, *pour la bonne bouche*, page 25.

transactions of this ex-monk, who, as a minister, assisted Buonaparte in 1802 to re-establish the christian religion, is not to be forgotten, because it shews the worth, the devotion, and the sincerity both of the minister, and of the consul who employed him.

Challier, a Piedmontese, had, from the beginning of the Revolution, been the tormentor and tyrant of all the peaceable and loyal citizens at Lyons, where he was settled as a merchant. Every insurrection, and the continual agitation of this populous city, were the work of this man, and of the jacobin emissaries from Paris, assisted by some disgraced and bankrupt Lyonese. In December 1792, when no honest man dared to appear as a candidate for any public employment, Challier was by some few jacobins first nominated a municipal officer, and afterwards a judge. As a recommendation to popular favour, he distributed his own portrait, with the following inscription: "*Challier, an excellent patriot, has passed six months at Paris, as an admirer of Marat and of the Mountain of the National Convention.*"

Challier's first act, as a public functionary, was an order to imprison twelve hundred citizens, whom he had proscribed as traitors to the

the republic, because he suspected them to be his private enemies. Despairing, from the courageous resistance of the Mayor, Nievre Chol, of being able to send them to the scaffold, he, on the 6th of February, 1793, presented himself in the Jacobin Club with a dagger in his hand, and caused it to be decreed, "that a tribunal, similar to that which murdered the prisoners at Paris, on the 2d of September, 1792, should immediately be instituted, with a guillotine, on the bridge of St. Clair; that nine hundred persons, whose names he gave in, should there be beheaded, and their bodies thrown into the Rhone; and that, in want of executioners, the members of the club should perform this office." Fortunately, the mayor and the armed force prevented this horrid decree from having its effect. Some time afterwards Challier was deposed by the citizens at Lyons, but restored by the convention; and in the daily contest between the two parties, the jacobins and the loyal citizens, he was by turns victorious and defeated.—At last the people at Lyons became exasperated, erected the standard of revolt against the National Convention, and Challier was arrested, condemned, and executed, on the 17th of July, 1793.

No

No sooner had Fouché and Collot D'Herbois entered Lyons, than the busts of Challier were carried in triumph, and placed on the altars of the churches, and on the tables of the tribunals and municipality. Fouché took it upon himself to pronounce the apotheosis of Challier, at a civic feast ordered in honour of his memory. He chose to celebrate this feast on the 1st of November, 1793, a day consecrated by the Roman Catholics to prayers, and to the memory of All Saints. "*Early in the morning the cannon announced the festival, and men and women carried, with an air of respect, adoration and pomp, the image of Challier, whilst other enemies to the christian religion brought consecrated vases; surrounded a jack-ass covered with an Episcopal gown, a mitre fastened between its two ears, and dragging in the dirt the Bible tied to its tail. After the burning of Challier's pretended corpse, of which the ashes were piously distributed amongst the sectaries of his and Fouché's morals, the holy Bible was thrown into the fire; and as it arose into the air, in smoke, the ceremony ended with the ass drinking from the sacred chalice! ! !*"

When the ceremony was over, Fouché proposed to consecrate that day, by sacrificing all

arrested

arrested persons (amounting to upwards of 25,000) to the manes of the god whom they had just adored; but a storm suddenly dispersed this infamous assembly*.

In his letter from Lyons, of the 10th of November following, printed in the Moniteur, and addressed to the National Convention, he said: "*The shade of Challier is satisfied; his precious remains, religiously collected, have been carried in triumph. It is upon the place where this holy martyr was immolated, that his ashes have been exposed to public veneration, to the religion of patriotism. At last the silence of sorrow was interrupted by the cries of Vengeance! vengeance! Yes, we swear that the people shall be avenged! This soil shall be overthrown; every thing which vice has erected shall be annihilated; and on the ruins of this superb city, the traveller shall find only some simple monuments, erected in memory of the martyrs of liberty*," &c. &c.†.

Having distinguished himself in such a terrific

* Les Cris de Vengeance, page 19; Prudhomme art. Fouché; and Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 90.

† Challier was called the Marat of Lyons; and by Fouché and the jacobins, St. Challier.—Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 93, and Prudhomme, art. Lyons.

rific manner at Lyons, Fouché was thought by the National Convention a worthy and fit instrument of its vengeance and of its hatred at Moulin and in La Vendée. If his active correspondence with Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety had not been preserved in the Moniteur, and other papers of those times, it would at present be impossible to form an idea of the crimes and enormities committed by him in his different missions. In a letter to the National Convention, dated Nantes, Germinal 6th, an ii. (March 28th 1794) he says, "*The day before yesterday I had the happiness to see* 800 *dwellings of the brigands* (the royalists) *consumed by fire; to-day I have witnessed the shooting of* 900 *of these brigands; and for to-morrow, I and Carrier have prepared a civic baptism* (drowning) *of* 1200 *women and children, mothers, sisters, wives, daughters, or sons, of the accursed brigands from La Vendée. In two days, three impure generations of rebels and fanatics have ceased to be any more**." In another letter to the department of Nievre, he wrote, "*Let us have the courage to march upon the bodies even of our fathers, brothers, and sons, to arrive at liberty*

* La Denonciation des Bretons, page 36.

*liberty; let us brave death ourselves, by inflicting it on all the enemies of equality, without any distinction of sex or age, relatives or strangers**."

At Lyons, as well as in La Vendée, Fouché had, in the name and for the use of the republic, confiscated all the property of those whom he ordered to be shot, drowned, or guillotined; but Robespierre, by his spies, found out that he had appropriated to himself the greatest part of this national plunder; he therefore denounced him in the Jacobin Club at Paris, *as a thief*, and his name was struck out as a member in its matricular register. Cruel from nature, Robespierre was the natural protector of all revolutionary assassins; ambition was his only passion; his wants were few, and his expences trifling; he therefore never forgave any peculator; but fortunately for Fouché, the death of this republican tyrant, soon after, prevented him from sharing the fate of his friends Danton, Chaumette, Chabot, Hebert, and other patriotic robbers.

After the execution of Robespierre, and during

* Dictionnaire Biographique, tom. ii. page 35; and Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 111.

during the factions which succeeded him in power, denunciations against Fouché poured in from all the departments where he had been a deputy. He was accused of *rape, of murder, of drowning, of plundering, of being an atheist, and an incendiary**.

At this period, the National Convention, apprehending the punishment due to its numerous crimes, in order to divert the attention of the people, found it necessary to make a purification (as it was called) of some of its vicious and guilty members, by sending Carrier and Le Bon to the scaffold, and declaring others, from their immoral or cruel conduct during the reign of Robespierre, unworthy of a seat in the National Convention. Fouché de Nantes, after the report of Tallien, was, amongst others, expelled from the Convention, as "*a thief and a terrorist, whose barbarous and criminal conduct would cast an everlasting dishonour upon any assembly of which he was suffered to be a member*†." After another report

* La Denonciation des Bretons, page 52. It is said there, that Fouché himself set fire to six villages in La Vendée, and in one of them ordered 66 old men, women, and children, to be thrown into the flames.

† See the Moniteur from August 1794 to October 1795. It contains

port by Dentzel, on the 21st and 22d Thermidor, an iii. (8th and 9th of August, 1795) Fouché, with Lequinio and eight other terrorists, formerly of the National Convention, were ordered to be arrested; and they remained in prison until released by the amnesty granted by the Convention some time before it finished its sittings*.

From October 1795, to September 1797, Fouché was employed in the subaltern capacity of a spy to the jacobin party of the Directory, and in laying out, in the purchase of national estates, the fruits of his robberies at Lyons and in La Vendée. After the 18th of Fructidor, or 4th of September, 1797, when this jacobin party of the Directory was victorious, and the Kings of Spain, Prussia, Naples, and Denmark received from *their dear and great friends*† the French Directors, as their Ambassadors,

contains a number of denunciations against Fouché, for plunder and murder, with Tallien's report; and Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 114.

* See the Moniteur of the 10th and 11th August, 1795.

† See the official letters from the different neutral Kings to the French Directory, in November and December 1795, and from the present King of Prussia, announcing his accession to the throne in November 1798. These letters all began *Grands et chers Amis*; and

sadors, the regicides, Sieyes, Guinguévé, La Mark, La Combe, Grouvelle, &c. Fouché quitted his obscurity, became first a Commissary in Italy, and afterwards, in the winter of 1798, was nominated ambassador to the Batavian republic, or French viceroy in Holland. Having, however, forgotten to remit to his employers their due share of his plunder in that country, he was recalled, and, in 1799, when terrorists occupied the principal places, appointed, by the advice of Barras (who said, a citizen known to have been an *assassin, a spy, and a thief*, could not but be a good chief over a revolutionary police), Minister of the Police of the French Republic. On the 18th of Brumaire, or 9th of November, 1799, when Buonaparte usurped the supreme power, Fouché was bought over with 600,000 livres, and a promise to keep his place at least four years; and both Barras and his friend Tallien have since found, that in times of Revolution, every man, however infamous, is a dangerous enemy.

Fouché had excited horror by his conduct as a conventional deputy; as a minister of police

and were published in the then official paper called *le Redacteur*, and in the *Moniteur*.

lice he has been allowed talents and capacity to which he can have no just claim. Before the Revolution, as has already been mentioned, he was several times reprimanded by his superiors in the convent, for his continual cabals and intrigues; but he never was looked upon as a man of any great parts: he had an uncommon share of impudence, with scanty information*. To what then is Fouché indebted for the present general opinion of his abilities? *To nothing but the unlimited power that he enjoyed during his ministry, and to his want of respect for any thing either sacred or just.* Any man, with even less sense and knowledge than Fouché possesses, might do as great things (though perhaps not so tyrannically) if he only laid aside all feelings, all principles of probity, of honour, and of justice. His skill as a police minister was as much below that of a Sartine and a Le Noir, as his means and power were above the means and power which those ministers possessed from the late King.

The French police, as it yet continues, was organized by Fouché. So widely differing as it

* Le Denonciation des Bretons, page 3.

it does, by its tyranny and oppression, from the police of Great Britain, and even from that of countries the most despotic, every thing relative to it must be interesting to the inquisitive, instructive to the moralist or politician, or useful as an article of information to travellers. The writer of this has been in all countries of Europe; but no where is the liberty of individuals oftener violated than in France, except in Italy, where Frenchmen govern Italians.

It is a curious fact, that the Continent of Europe never has been less free than since they began to talk of liberty in France. No man since that period can travel without a pass, and no pass protects him from a voyage to the Silver Mines, or to Cayenne, or a dungeon at Olmutz, at Spandau, or Munich. A similitude of name or of person is sufficient to annul any pass whatever, and the most honest and innocent traveller suffers years of exile or imprisonment, because he happens to bear the name of a man who is disagreeable to the mistress of a favourite, or a favourite Minister at Madrid, St. Cloud, Vienna, Berlin, or Munich. Formerly a single act of despotism, such as the confinement of the *not* innocent Baron Trenck, caused

caused a general sensation, and excited universal pity; but the numerous examples of republican France have lately accustomed men to all kinds of violence and oppression, and, by raising apprehensions for one's own safety, appear to have superseded all pity for the sufferings of others.

The press, so useful and so necessary to unmask tyrants, and to inspire abhorrence of tyranny, Fouché has enslaved, either by French intrigues, or by French power; and in no part of the Continent dare any friend to rational liberty, to truth and loyal principles, write, or any printer publish, "*that Buonaparte is an usurper and a poisoner, and his senator, Fouché an assassin and a robber,*" whose ideas of liberty are as generous, liberal, and just, as those of the Emperor of Morocco, or the Dey of Algiers.

During the monarchy, the general police of France belonged to the ministry of justice and of the interior. Paris, Lyons, and other large cities, had their *lieutenants de police*, as they were called; but the *lieutenant de police* at Paris was the principal one; and, some time before the Revolution, that office was a certain recommendation to advancement and promotion;

motion*; but these, the police ministers of the King, could have no direct correspondence with his civil or military governors, parliaments, intendants, bishops, &c. &c. the noblemen occupying those places would never consent to communicate with a man whom they regarded as the chief spy, or the chief of the French spies. Since Fouché's regulations, however, any petty commissary has more power to do what he chooses, unpunished, than the King's *lieutenant de police* ever possessed; who, if he were guilty of any abuse of authority, was not only reprimanded, but fined, by the then existing parliament, and the King's privy council. There was not a man in France during Fouché's ministry, either judge or counsellor of state, who did not tremble at the very name of Fouché, or his police commissaries; the mayor at Brussels; Lacoue, the secretary to the consular council of state, his *chefs de bureau*, and the judges of the tribunal at Brest, occupied, in 1801, the dungeons of Fouché's bastile, the Temple, because, instead of following the interested and arbitrary dictates

* During the reign of Louis XVI. Marquis de Sartine was promoted to the ministry of the marine department, from the office of a lieutenant de police at Paris.

tates of this Pacha, they obeyed the laws of their country, and the dictates of their consciences. The King's minister of police had all the information that he wanted on civil or political affairs, through the offices or the ministers of the home and foreign departments; and he was always obliged to execute their orders, as well as the orders of the King's governors, or commanders. At present, the prefects, generals, commanders, mayors, &c. &c. are forced not only to carry on a direct correspondence with Buonaparte's police minister, but to obey all his orders, without any representation whatever, let them be ever so tyrannical or unjust: the consequence was, that during Fouché's ministry, in the many bastiles of the different departments in France, numbers of innocent citizens, from a likeness of persons or names to Fouché's private enemies, more numerous than, or always confounded with, the enemies of the Republic, have suffered for years in dungeons, however well persuaded the governor or general who arrested them was of their innocence; because any person who was once confined by the order of Fouché, could only be released by an order from Fouché himself, even though acquitted by the tribunals; and

the same levity, corruption, and indifference, prevailed at his office, *as to the liberty of individuals*, as, in the reign of Robespierre, with respect to their lives; it was therefore not only difficult, but nearly impossible, to obtain such an order of release, without great loss of time and many sacrifices.

The author of this work called, in 1801, sixty-two times at Fouché's office, and was obliged, in the end, to pay fifty Louis d'ors for the release of his friend, Mr. P. an American, arrested *by mistake, as an accomplice in the escape of Sir Sidney Smith from the Temple in* 1798, *although Mr. P. proved that his residence at that time was at Baltimore in America, and that he never, before the year* 1800, *had been in Europe.*

But, even without any abuse of authority, Fouché and his successors, by merely following the yet existing revolutionary laws against the liberty and safety of citizens, have more power than any king's minister ever had. Before the Revolution, no man, either foreigner or Frenchman, wanted any pass to travel or to reside in France, and no where was any pass ever demanded; a traveller only told his name, or what name he chose, if he was interrogated,

in

in passing through some fortified cities; and at Paris wrote a name down in the inn where he lodged.

By the present police laws and regulations of Fouché, every person, Frenchman, or foreigner, must have a pass, or be exposed to imprisonment, if only three miles from his home, or place of residence, should any capricious or tyrannical commissary of police, or even *gens d'armes**, ask for it; and at Paris, as well as in every other city, town, or village of France, the landlord of the inn to which a traveller goes is to demand his pass, and copy from it the name and description of his person, age, &c. which are immediately sent to the commissary of police. If a traveller stays longer than twenty-four hours, he must present himself at the prefecture of the police, at Paris, and in all other places to the police commissaries, in order to obtain a permission to reside there; which never is granted, but after answering different questions, as to his

 business,

* Gens d'armes are police horsemen, who are quartered every where in France, and who patrole, day and night, all public roads, and often stop the diligences, coaches, or persons on foot, to enquire after passes. On the frontiers they are particularly strict. In December, 1801, the writer was stopped by them thirty-two times between Metz and Coblentz. Their number amounts to 28,000.

business, his acquaintances, &c. and always his friends are bound to answer for his appearance; or, if a foreigner, the sanction of his consul, or minister, is necessary: and this very permission (or, as it is called, *carte de surete*, or *carte d'etranger*) to stay any where, contains, *in the margin*, an order of arrest, should the bearer pass the limits of a city, town, or village. The permission to reside any where is for a fixed number of days, and, when expired, must be renewed. In some places, *as at Marseilles, in* 1800, *foreigners were obliged to renew their permission every five days*, although they had the security of their consuls; *even captains or masters of vessels, who resided on board their ships, were forced to submit to the same slavish and troublesome regulation.*

Formerly no public gambling-houses were permitted in France; but after Fouché began to rule the police, the privilege of keeping gambling houses has been let out as openly and as publicly as the king's ministers farmed out the duties upon salt, tobacco, or wine, to the farmers-general of his revenue. Cards of address to gambling houses are distributed in all parts of France, in the same manner as quack bills in London. This scandalous and immoral transaction

action brought into his pocket upwards of ten thousand pounds per month. The late prefect at Lyons, Vernignac, learnt, to his cost, how dangerous it was to meddle with this lawful income of citizen Fouché; for, having ordered the suppression of all gambling-houses at Lyons, Fouché represented him in such a light to Buonaparte, that he lost the honourable place of prefect, and was sent, in disgrace, as minister to Switzerland; a situation which no prefect's secretary would by choice accept, on account of the unsettled state of that country, and the disagreeable and difficult part that a French Minister had to perform there.*

Besides what the farmers of the gambling-houses paid to Fouché every month, they were obliged to hire and pay 120,000 persons employed in those houses at Paris, and in the provinces, as *croupiers*, from half a crown to half a guinea a day; and these 120,000 persons were all spies for Fouché, without any expence, although he always took care to charge the government the same for them as for 200,000 other

* In the autumn of 1801, Vernignac lost his place as prefect at Lyons, and in autumn 1802 his employment as a minister in Switzerland; and such is Fouché's influence, that, without any known reason but what has been mentioned, Vernignac is yet in total disgrace.

other spies, whom he employs every where else. To such a length had he carried this detestable practice of *espionage* in France, that he has not only caused his spies to be protected, but also respected. A known spy, who, under the monarchy, was exposed, insulted, and despised every where, is at present, by the free French republicans, not only feared, but caressed, since Fouché has honoured the persons of his profession with the title of *agens de police*, or agents of the police.*

Such are at present the general mistrust and want of confidence among the French republicans, that there is not a public functionary in France, from the first consul down to the lowest commissary of police, who has not his private spies. Fouché, however, so long as he was police minister, had most of them under his own immediate control, as much by his bribes as by his power. It was by these means that he, in 1800, gained over Lucien Buonaparte's spies on his brothers, and on himself, and was enabled to inform the First Consul of all Lucien's plots, crimes, or intrigues, which caused his disgrace, the loss of his place as a minister, and his

* La Police de Fouché devoilé, Neuchatel, 1802, page 8. A Swiss officer, the supposed author of this pamphlet, which was seized at Berne, was arrested there by General Ney, and is yet in the Temple. 1803.

his mission to Spain. It was in the same manner that he detected all the royalist or jacobin conspiracies, and particularly the latter, by gaining over his old protector Barrere, who, in 1793 and 1794, when one of the members of Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety, employed him, and who, in his turn, under the patronage of Fouché, was, and is yet, the known agent of police, or spy upon the newspaper writers and printers, and upon the jacobins, whose confidence he possesses, although several have paid for it by transportation to Cayenne or Madagascar*.

Ever since the Revolution, it has been the constant plan of all the different factions, but particularly of the regicides, to induce government, or the public, indirectly to sanction all their infamous and inhuman deeds. Next to the humiliation of kings, this was one of the principal causes why the late directors sent regicides to represent the French republic, as ambassadors to their *loyal friends* the kings of Prussia, Spain, and Denmark. It was, of course, easy for Fouché to persuade the consular government to sanction his *private* plan of public gambling, by directing a national lottery to be

* La Police de Fouché devoilé, page 24.

be drawn five times every ten days, or *decade*; viz. every second day of the decade at Strasburgh; every third at Bourdeaux; every fifth at Paris; every seventh at Brussels; and every ninth day of the decade at Lyons. That the people might lose no time in ruining themselves, besides extra couriers, the telegraphs were employed to announce, in a few hours, the numbers drawn. The writer of this has known at Paris before twelve o'clock, the numbers drawn at Strasburgh at eight o'clock the same day, and Strasburgh is upwards of 300 miles from Paris. Tickets in these lotteries may be had to any amount, from ten sous (five pence) to a million of livres, or 42,000 pounds. The plan of Fouché was made out in such a manner, that the servant and the master, the chimney-sweeper and the banker, may all enjoy the only liberty and equality existing in France, that of ruining themselves. Close by every lottery-office, even in the same houses with many, as well as in or near all other gambling houses in France, reside pawn-brokers; and it is a well-known fact which happens every day, that numbers of the lower class of the people literally strip themselves, in order to procure money to gamble with. To this public gambling

bling is ascribed the great number of murders and suicides, stated in a report of the minister Chaptal, as being in the proportion of 192 to 1, compared with former times.*

Modern philosophers, reformers, and innovators have, for these last fifty years, continually declaimed against emperors, kings, and other sovereign princes, for tolerating and permitting lotteries in their dominions; amongst others, the revolutionary philosopher Mercier reprobated very strongly the French kings and their ministers, for their *cruelty in suffering lotteries to be drawn under the French monarchy fifteen times a year.* Since France has become a republic, governed, or rather tyrannized over, by his fellow philosophers and reformers, *lotteries are drawn fifteen times each month*; and the reformer Mercier has accepted of, and still occupies, the place of one of the directors of the republican lottery, with a salary of 12,000 livres a year!!

Before the Revolution, common women were obliged to give in their names and places of abode, to the police office of the city or town in which they resided; and when sick or disordered, they were taken care of by medical

* La Police de Fouché dévoilé, pages 97 and 98.

cal men, paid by government. It is one of the favourite principles of the *disinterested* French republicans and regicides to make money of every thing. Fouché, therefore, ordered that these wretched women all over France must take out, under pain of being flogged or confined to hard labour in the house of correction, what is called *patent d'etre femme publique*, or a licence to be a common strumpet or street-walker: this licence must be renewed every month, and it paid for at the rate of from five shillings to ten guineas every three decades, or month, according to the age, beauty, or fashion of the unfortunate person. Besides this contribution to the police minister, each girl paid five shillings a month, whether she was ill or well, to some of Fouché's spies, called by him agents of health to the police, whose office was to visit them twice in the decade, rather to levy these arbitrary impositions, and to collect information, (most of them were, moreover, his spies) than to inquire into the state of their health.*

Besides the 320,000 registered and paid spies, there is not any person at Paris, or in France, who has a commission from the police necessary

* La Police de Fouché devoilé, page 211.

necessary to gain his livelihood, but is obliged to be directly or indirectly its spy. Itinerant musicians who paid Fouché twenty pence a day, ballad-singers who paid him ten pence a day, old clothes men who paid him twenty-five pence a day, hackney-coachmen who paid him half a crown a day, pedlars, fruit-sellers, fishwomen, carmen, &c. &c. were all registered at the police, and obliged to send or give their regular reports of what they heard, saw, or observed; and often, when he thought proper, were forced to pass days, even weeks together, in serving him, without any reward. In 1801, his ordinary spies had, for several weeks, attempted in vain to find out one of the chiefs of the Chouans, whom he knew to be concealed at Paris, and who was suspected to have conspired against Buonaparte. One of his spies in the Temple (he had spies every where) heard another arrested Chouan say, that this his friend was a great lover of music. No sooner was this fact reported to him, than he put into requisition six of the best music grinders at Paris, who were ordered to play, before or in the court-yards of the hotels every day, in every street, by turns; and having given them a description of the man

he

he wanted, they were to observe all persons coming to the windows to look out, or to listen to the music; and by these means those musical spies discovered the Chouan chief, who has since been transported to Cayenne.*

Before the Revolution, there were no more than sixty-four guard-houses at Paris, and no one was stopped, either in the day or at night, to give an account of himself: at present there are 162 guard-houses (twenty round the Palais Royal alone, where, in 1789, there were only two); and, after eleven o'clock at night, all persons are exposed to be asked by the patroles, centinels, or *corps de garde*, for their pass, or citizen's or foreigner's card; and, if without it, must remain prisoners in the guard-house until the next morning, and then are marched from thence, between soldiers, to the prefecture of police, where, if it happen to be a holiday, or a day of much business, they remain confined among thieves and murderers for twenty-four hours, and often three times twenty-four hours, before they are examined or released; particularly *if they want money to*

* La Police de Fouché dévoilé, page 23.

to purchase their liberty, or powerful friends to claim them.*

Fouché's power as a consular minister and a favourite of the Corsican, and the use which he made of it, deserve to be illustrated by some anecdotes, collected from persons who have suffered from, or been concerned in it.

Buonaparte having determined to make the castle of the Thuilleries strong enough, from its situation, to resist any sudden or unexpected attack, ordered, by the advice of some officers of engineers, a number of houses, private and public, in the neighbourhood of the castle, to be demolished. One of the owners of these condemned houses insisted, before any demolition should take place, upon having, in ready money, the sum that he had himself paid for his house twenty-six years before. The republican treasury, from the extravagance of the republican rulers, never being overcharged with money, his demand could not be complied with. To cut the business short, the owner of the house was, by a mandate of Fouché, arrested; and, upon his appearance before him, was told, "that his name being upon one of the numerous lists of emigrants, he

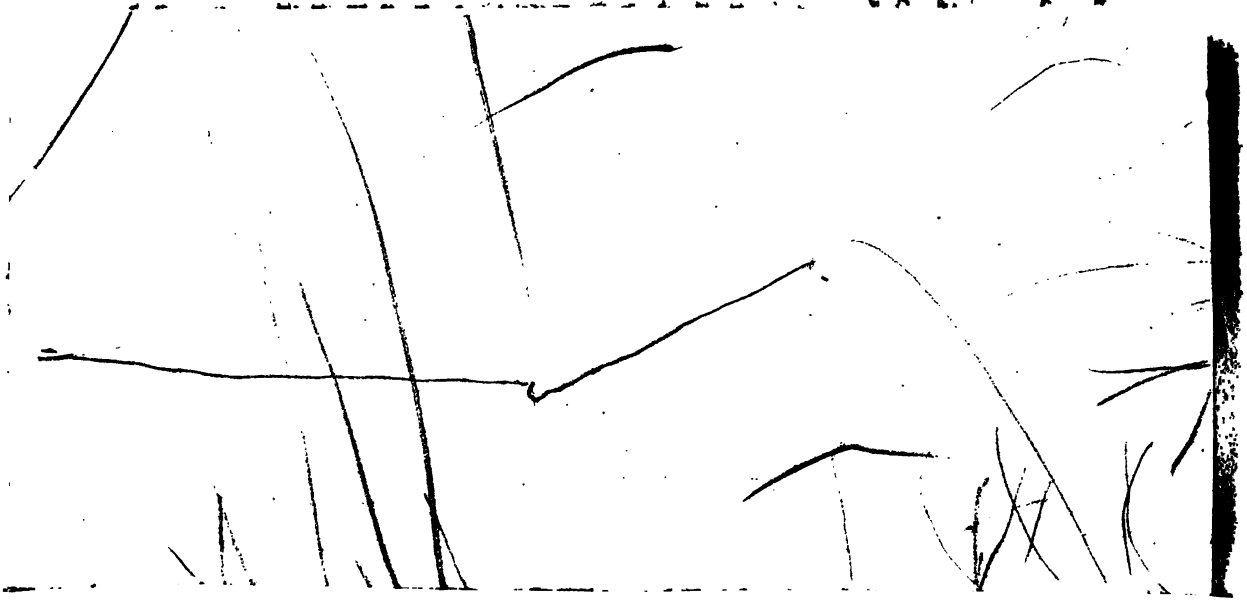
* La Police de Fouché devoilé, the Preface, page 2.

he might transport him, or otherwise punish him as such, and dispose of his property as belonging to the nation; but in consideration of his age, being near eighty, his name should be erased from the fatal list, if he would consent to take for his house an annuity of two thousand livres (or eighty-two pounds sterling) a year." The old man having children, grandchildren, and great grand-children, this offer of the generous Fouché was refused, who therefore sent him, without farther ceremony, accompanied by two gens d'armes, as a returned emigrant without permission, to be transported to the other side of the Rhine, although he could prove, that for the last forty years he had not once been twenty-four hours out of Paris. At the common prison at Metz, on his way to Germany, Providence put him out of the reach of Fouché, as well as out of that of all other tyrants—the old man died there of a broken heart. Of his house not a stone remains; and not a shilling has been paid for it to his ruined and despairing family!*

When Buonaparte had usurped the supreme power

* La Police de Fouché devoilé, page 16. In the note, it is said that the man's name was Darüe: the transaction took place in the winter of 1800.

1845.
DeSauray
of the Deaf & Dumb School
Paris
rue
Kleber



power in November 1799, his first occupation, by the advice of Fouché, was to pacify the royalists, or chouans, in the different departments of France. Fouché's intrigues soon embroiled or divided the chiefs; and when they ceased to be united among themselves, he gained over the greater number of them by some momentary pecuniary sacrifices. The common price paid to a chief for deserting the cause of royalty, was 300,000 livres, or about £.12,500. Bourmont, D'Autichamp, and some others, received that sum; and it was offered to Georges and Frotté, but declined by them: however, when Frotté found himself deserted by all the other chiefs, and by the greatest part of his army, he proposed to lay down his arms, on condition that he and his friends might enjoy their property without being obliged to reside in the republic.

The republican commander against Frotté, General Guidal, consented to the terms proposed, and sent Frotté a *safe conduct* for himself, his staff, and followers, to come to Alençon, where General Guidal's head-quarters were, to sign the treaty, and their submission to the republic. At the time appointed Frotté and his friends entered the town, and from the

inn

inn where they lodged sent word to General Guidal of their arrival, who, by one of his aides-de-camp, invited them all to his house.

General Guidal had regularly informed the French government of the progress of his negociation with Frotté, and had received its orders to conclude it; but Fouché wrote at the same time to General Guidal, that General Chamberlac, who had arrived at Alençon the day before Frotté was to surrender himself, was to sign on the part of the French republic, together with Guidal, the peace with these royalists, although the latter continued to keep the command.

General Guidal behaved to Frotté and his followers with great politeness, and was determined strictly to fulfil his agreement with them; but when they were at supper with him, and after six o'clock the next morning had been finally fixed to sign the peace, one of General Chamberlac's aides-de-camp entered the room, and desired some private conversation with Guidal; whom he informed, that Chamberlac had that moment received a courier from Fouché, with orders to arrest, and the next day to try by a military commission, Frotté, and the royalists who accompanied him;

him; and, without waiting for an answer from General Guidal, he ordered twelve grenadiers, concealed in the next room, to rush upon the royalists, and make them prisoners. Although General Guidal protested against this treacherous conduct, which implicated his own character, as a commander, and as a man of honour, Frotté and his friends were all murdered by the judges of Fouché, who, to colour his own villany, and the perfidiousness of the French government, ordered his creature, the stupid Chamberlac, to make a false report of these royalists, as if they had been surprised in a castle in the country, when, in fact, they were taken in the very house of the republican General Guidal, at Alençon, the head-quarters of the republican army; and Frotté had this general's *safe conduct*, or passport, in his pocket.

General Guidal, for his protest and complaints, was ordered on an inferior command to the army of Italy; and Chamberlac, for his treason, was promoted to the rank of a general of division, and appointed commandant of Mentz.

It is true, that Frotté was more beloved by his party, and had greater talents than most of

the other royalist chiefs; but this was not the cause of his death; nor yet, as some people believe, a letter which was published with his name, called, "A Letter from a French Nobleman, to the Corsican Usurper, Buonaparte;" but Fouché had bought several estates belonging to Frotté's relatives and friends, which were, according to the plan of a pacification, to be restored to their lawful owners; to prevent this, therefore, it was necessary to sacrifice Frotté and his adherents.

These particulars the Author heard from General Guidal himself, in May 1801, at Paris, who permitted him to make them public. In the June following, this general (who never concealed his abhorrence of Fouché, nor that, although a republican by principle, he preferred, tyrant for tyrant, a Bourbon to a Buonaparte) was ordered to leave Paris in twenty-four hours, and to retire to an uncle's house near Nice, six hundred miles from the capital, under pain of being transported to Madagascar or Cayenne, if he left his place of exile without Fouché's permission.

It is necessary to inform foreigners, particularly English merchants and manufacturers, who may be enticed by French emissaries, or forced

forced by business, to go to France, that in the whole republic there is not a house, except the Consul's, which is not exposed to the domiciliary visits of the police minister's agents or spies. Under pretext of looking for suspected persons, or for prohibited or smuggled goods, the dwellings and warehouses are searched, and put under the national seals, particularly if they belong to foreigners thought to be rich; and when once justice is obtained, if obtained at all, and the seals are removed, they may think themselves fortunate if not more than half of their property has disappeared.

Even during a peace, whatever may be said to the contrary, *no Englishman is safe in France*, nor free from vexation, plunder, and insult; nor will he be so, as long as France remains a republic. It is, indeed, absurd and ridiculous in foreigners to expect even a temporary protection, in a country where the *natives* groan under perpetual, vile, and abject slavery and oppression.

As to the safety of commercial speculation, when Fouché, and others of Buonaparte's favourites or ministers, dispose of the laws of the country as they think proper, it depends en-

tirely upon their will, their caprice, or their interest. The following is one among many examples of this truth.

The exportation of rags from Brabant and Flanders to foreign countries has always been strictly prohibited; owners of paper-mills, therefore, used regularly to agree with merchants, or collectors of rags, to furnish them with a fixed quantity at a fixed price; and these, in their turn, were accustomed, for years, to deliver their paper to dealers, either in wholesale or retail, at a certain profit. Contracts of this description were made in general for five or ten years. At the moment when peace was concluded with England, a house at Ghent, in Flanders, paid one of Fouché's agents twenty-five thousand crowns for the privilege of exporting to England (where rags which sold in Flanders for one guinea fetched sixteen guineas), during a limited time, a certain quantity of rags. The consequence of this monopolizing privilege was, the rise of the article upwards of 400 per cent. in a month, to the ruin of many, and to the great loss of all concerned in that branch of commerce; while one single individual, the friend of Fouché, pocketed

pocketed a hundred thousand crowns for the twenty-five thousand that he had laid out.*

Others, in like manner, have bought exclusive permissions, or patents, either from Fouché or the minister of the home department, to export several prohibited articles, as wool, corn, raw silk, &c. and to import foreign productions or manufactured goods, to the detriment of their interdicted fellow-citizens, who were speculating lawfully at the same time. English merchants, enjoying the blessings of a just and stable government, are the best judges of the effects of such corrupt and impolitic proceedings upon commerce.

In most of the provinces, Fouché's commissaries of police improved upon his plan of *private* and *extraordinary* contributions. In 1801, the regicide Lecointre Puyraveaux, Fouché's commissary for the police of Marseilles and its department, amongst other impositions, laid the bakers of that city under a tax of 30,000 livres, or £.1250 sterling, a month; and, to enable them to discharge it, he consented to an advance of the price of bread from three to five sous a pound; when at Paris,

* This anecdote the author heard at the table of a banker at Ghent. It is a fact known all over Flanders and Brabant.

and in other places, at that time, the pound of bread was only two sous and a half.

This same Lecointre ordered, in June 1801, his subaltern commissaries of police and the gens-d'armes, under pretext of protecting the merchants who visited the fair of Beaucaire, (one of the most frequented in France, kept in July every year) not to suffer any person to attend it who was not provided with a pass from him; and this pass cost three livres, or half-a-crown English. In consequence of this arbitrary regulation, Lecointre signed in twelve days 46,000 passes, and put 23,000 crowns in his own coffers.

In August, 1801, Lecointre was offended with some of the merchants at Marseilles, because, in a private dispute between him and La Croix (the prefect of the department) they did not make his cause their own, as he had the impudence to demand. To punish them, and at the same time to shew his power, he invented and decreed a new ordinance about the exchange hours and transactions; by which all merchants' clerks or sons, except one, were deprived of permission to frequent the exchange; and Lecointre, or one of his agents or spies, was always to be present to demand the licences, passes,

passes, or cards, of those citizens whom they thought proper to exclude, or suspected to be excluded by Lecointre's regulations; and, as it had been stipulated in them that the exchange hours were to be between the hours of one and three o'clock in the afternoon,—every day, at a quarter before three o'clock, two drummers entered the exchange beating their drums, thus *literally* drumming out the merchants from the exchange. The Author has received the honour of being drummed out in this manner from the exchange at Marseilles upwards of sixty times!

This same Lecointre, the favourite of Fouché, in order to extend his authority even to the amusements of the people, and to punish the proprietors of the principal theatre at Marseilles, who had refused to raise the price of their tickets of admission in his favour, forced them to shut up the principal place of entrance to the boxes of the first rank, and to build upon that spot a private box large enough to contain twelve persons, for him and his family.

At Marseilles, and in every other city or town in France, the public pay (as it is alleged, to charitable uses) from 2d. to 6d. upon each ticket of admission to play-houses, or

other public amusements: this money is always delivered into the hands of the commissaries of police, who, not being subject to any control, employ it just as they choose.

Such is the minute catalogue of petty tyranny, and such the indignant triumphs of little villains, flowing from the corrupt fountain of republican grandeur: vexations and plunders, which even a tyrant on a throne has never practised or sanctioned, but peculiar to every people who bear the oppression of a thousand tyrants. The vexations and plunders, indeed, of Fouché and his commissaries, were as numerous and various as they were extensive; reaching over all France, Italy, Holland, and Switzerland. On the 15th of August, 1801, a commissary of police at Aix, in Provence, at half past eleven o'clock at night, forced a friend of the Author, with thirty-six other travellers in the same inn with him, to rise suddenly from their beds to shew their passes. During this domiciliary visit, the inn, situated in the suburb of Aix, was surrounded and guarded by fifty gens-d'armes. As it was an infraction of the constitution to make any domiciliary visits at night, the landlord was asked the reason of this unlawful measure: the answer was, that this

this commissary was a protegé and favourite of Fouché, who regularly visited three or four times in the decade all the different inns at Aix, not to look for or arrest any suspected persons, but to lay those passengers under contribution, who had no passes, or whose passes were too old, or wanted any of the numerous and oppressive formalities to which all persons travelling in the *free* French republic are obliged to submit, or else expose themselves to be taken into custody, and transported, as suspected, often without a trial, to Cayenne, St. Domingo, or Madagascar. The landlord added, that this commissary did not make it a secret, that these tyrannical and unlawful domiciliary visits brought him a yearly income of 1000 Louis d'ors.

Such is the degraded state of public character and public spirit in France, that although every body complained and declaimed against these abominable vexations of Fouché and his agents, no man, nor body of men, dared to make any formal complaint to the consuls; indeed, to complain to Buonaparte of Fouché, was exactly the same thing as to complain to Fouché of Buonaparte.

Among other inventions to insult loyalty, to

honour disaffection, and to encourage discontent against lawful governments, Fouché, assisted by Talleyrand, made out, after the peace of Luneville, a list of all known persons in Europe, statesmen, politicians, and authors, who had either written or spoken for monarchy, morality, and religion; or who had published opinions in favour of modern innovations, praised the French Revolution, and extolled its past and present republican rulers. This list begins with the letter A, and finishes with Z, and is a large volume in folio, left with the commissaries of police in all the frontier towns of France. In *the margin* opposite to each name, are instructions for the police commissary how to act towards travellers: if royalists, either to arrest them or affront them; to send them back with insult, or to permit them to continue their way with precaution, accompanied by a spy or a gens-d'armes; but, if *fashionable patriots*, to receive them with more or less revolutionary distinction, either by the commandant and the municipality *en masse*, or only to honour them by a visit of the police commissary; either to feast them in style, at the expence of the republic, or privately by the commissary.

This

This curious list contains, beside the names of several *foreigners*, those of *state-creditors*; who are to be stopped under different pretences, until they lose all patience, and *are by no means to be permitted to go to Paris.* If they become troublesome, they are to be escorted to the other side of the French frontiers by gens-d'armes, and forbidden to return, under pain of being regarded and punished as spies. Mengaud, the police commissary at Calais, has one of these lists, which explains a part of his late insolent conduct towards different British travellers*.

The people of France having, since the Revolution, seen so many persons of the lowest extraction and most vicious habits, not only make great fortunes, but occupy the first places both in the military and civil government, there are but few who do not expect the same success, and trust to chance for riches and rank, for favour and preferment, which, in republican France, virtue and merit have never yet obtained. To keep up this

* La Police de Fouché devoilé, page 44. The Author has seen one of these lists deposited at the police-office at Cologne; and against the names of Pitt, Windham, Grenville, &c. &c. were some very curious instructions, which prove the illiberal, unjust, and *cruel* characters of Buonaparte and his ministers.

spirit of hope and expectation, which naturally checks their inquiry about state affairs, and the conduct of the men at the head of the present government, Fouché has ordered numbers of his spies to become fortune-tellers: most of them have printed answers, agreeable to the age, sex, condition, or appearance of the persons wishing to penetrate into futurity, all foretelling prosperity and success. At the bottom of these printed answers are always some numbers for the lottery, which are called fortunate for the purchasers. This is another interested object of the consular government, to engage the people to gamble in the lotteries*.

The

* The following printed answer the Author received when, from curiosity, he made an enquiry as to futurity: it is copied *verbatim* with its faults.

SATURNE.

Saturne est la 4me. des 7 plànettes.

Les Romains la confondoient avec Janue le premier mois de leur année, cette planette a double domination sur celles de Jupiter et de Vénus, son influence est douce et paisible.

Les signes du Zodiaque qui president au cours de votre vie, joints à la planette de *Saturne*, vous predisent de ne point vous alarmer, si quelques evenement de votre vie n'ont point été tout a fait aussi heureux que vous etiez en droit de l'esperer. Malgré toute l'affabilité de votre caractére, vous n'etes pas sans avoir éprouvé des injustices qui n'ont pas manquer de vous rebuter; peut-etre en ce moment l'inquietude vous domine, mais rassurez vous, votre planette est heureux, et sous peu de tems vous eprouverez un avantage certain

The Boulevards, and all public places and squares at Paris, abound with those fortune-tellers;

certain, tant du coté du cœur que de la fortune, qui s'apprête à vous tendre les bras; *brusquez-la avec hardiesse, et vous êtes sur de la fixer.* Vous ne l'avez deja echappé plusieurs fois que parceque le moment d'en profiter n'etoit pas encore venu pour vous. Saturne enfin cette planette reconnüe pour etre d'une influence douce et paisible, s'apprête à vous preparer par degrés, à la jouissance d'une vie calme et denuée de chagrin.

Par Collignon,

C'est à l'age de maturité que la prosperité vous attende.

P. G. R. Vous avez été bien long-temps jeune, et vous avez eu bien de la peine à vous decider à quitter les amis, avec lesquelles vous avez été elevé mais l'age ayant mauri vos idées, vous vous êtes déterminé á le faire pour votre interet personnel. Avant de vous marier, vous ferez un voyage très lucratif; mais il faudra bien prendre garde, car plusieurs personnes chercheront à vous surprendre. A votre retour vous epouserez une personne jeune, jolie, et aimable, avec laquelle vous vivrez en très bonne intelligence: Vous entreprenez le commerce, vous y réussirez au gré de vos desirs: Vous aurez des enfans qui vous donneront beaucoup de satisfaction, sur-tout une fille qui sera votre unique espérance. P. G. La femme que vous aurez.---Deposés a la Bibliotèque Nationale.

Air---*Il pleut, Bergère.*

Vous aurez femme sage,
Ayant mille agrémens,
Qui fuira le langage,
Des séducteurs amans;
Quoiqu'à tort et sans bornes
Jaloux de ses appas,
Vous croirez porter cornes
Vous n'en porterez pas.

Les numeros 22, 74, 81. Par Citoyen Tenand.

tellers; and in the provinces these fellows relieve each other; so that if the credit of one should diminish, another takes his place, to serve Fouché, and to deceive the public: in every city, town, or large village in France, some of them are always to be found. At Paris the prices paid to those attending the most frequented walks or places, are from two to six sous; but in the country, the prices are even less.

These ambulatory prophets have only the members of the lowest classes of society for their customers; but there are besides, particularly in Paris, at fixed places of abode, frequented by the first people of rank and fashion, several who receive from six livres to a Louis d'or for telling their fortune with cards, in coffee, with dice, &c. They are all registered as spies to the police, and are obliged to pay to Fouché's agents a monthly sum for protection.

Fouché's income, which he has bought or plundered from the national property, is upwards of five hundred thousand livres (or 20,000l.) a year; his salary *per fas et nefas*, as a minister of police, nobody knew to a certainty; the general opinion was, that it exceeded three millions of livres (or one hundred

and

and twenty-five thousand pounds); but as long as Fouché occupied this ministry, it was very dangerous in France to speak upon that subject. A young clerk at one of the first banking houses at Paris had the imprudence, in the spring of 1802, to mention, at a restaurateur's, "that he was sure the house which he belonged to had bought up for Fouché, since the peace, upwards of five millions of stock in the foreign funds, under different names." Some few days after this declaration the young man disappeared; and the ninth day after he had conversed about Fouché's property, his body was found in the river, near St. Cloud; he had been murdered, and thrown into the Seine.*

During Fouché's ministry, 16 royalists were guillotined, 302 were shot, 1660 were transported, 96 died in the Temple and other prisons, and 44 are yet detained state prisoners. Of the jacobins, 9 have been guillotined, 24 shot for robbing the *diligences;* 120 transported, and 10 confined as state prisoners. Fouché discovered, as a police minister, from June 1799 to November 1802, 32 conspiracies, or pretended conspiracies: he doubled the number of French spies; and the number of criminals

* La Police de Fouché devoilé, page 60.

criminals punished in 1802 were double the number of those condemned in 1799. In these last four years, from 1799 to 1803, 2502 suicides were committed at Paris, and 3089 in the provinces: 2006 state prisoners have been at the Temple, and 166,002 names of criminals have been entered in the gaoler's books all over France; of these 29,650 have been released or acquitted, 15,051 guillotined or shot, 25,060 have been transported, 36,464 have been condemned to the gallies, and the remainder were still imprisoned in December 1802.*

The jacobins, who in 1799 forced Talleyrand to resign his place as minister of the foreign department, promoted Fouché to the ministry of the police. After the Revolution effected by Buonaparte, in November of the same year, Fouché was continued as minister of the police, and Talleyrand re-assumed his former station. It was not to be supposed, however, that two such equally vicious and equally cunning men, but whose revolutionary principles were so very opposite, could long agree as ministers in the same councils, without trying to supplant or exclude each other.

By

* La Police de Fouché devoilé, page 69.

By persons about Buonaparte it was easily discovered, from his execrations against the jacobins, or his apprehensions of the royalists, whose influence was the greatest, and whose reports were most believed. Talleyrand always insisted that the royalists were not dangerous; whilst Fouché assured him that the jacobins had neither the means nor the inclination to trouble Buonaparte's government.—Until the pretended plot of the jacobin and Corsican, Arena, had been forgotten, Talleyrand excluded Fouché for some time from the consular favour; Fouché, in his turn, at the discovery of St. Regent's infernal machine, caused Talleyrand to be both slighted and suspected. Hardly a month passed without its being expected, in the consular circles, that one of these two ministers would be forced to resign.

Talleyrand, however, got so far the better of his rival, that, contrary to the wishes and to the interest of Fouché, a prefect of the police at Paris was nominated; and, what was of more consequence, this prefect of police was one of Talleyrand's creatures. From this step Fouché easily concluded, that the instant he was no longer wanted he would be dismissed, although

contrary

contrary to Buonaparte's promise; and that, for him to be wanted, it was necessary to keep the Corsican in continual alarm and fear of intrigues, plots, and conspiracies. Twice in every decade, he had orders to present his report of the public opinion, or what was otherwise interesting, concerning the safety of the First Consul and his government.

Those reports belonged *to the secret police of the interior*, and Buonaparte therefore never shewed them to any body. One day, when his daughter-in-law, Fanny Beauharnois, (married to Louis Buonaparte, and a great favourite with the First Consul) observed him much agitated on reading a paper, which, at her approach, he put over the chimney-piece,—curiosity, or perhaps the advice of somebody, made her contrive to penetrate into the cause of the consul's uneasiness. In playing with him, as she often did, she got hold of this paper, and, to prevent any suspicion, she tore another paper near it to pieces, and threw them out of the window, saying, "Dear father, I hope you are not angry that I have destroyed the villanous paper which made you so uncomfortable." Buonaparte freely forgave her, when, in presence of her mother, she mentioned

tioned what she had done. The paper that she had concealed was found to be one of Fouché's reports, instilling into the Consul's mind fear and suspicion of persons even the nearest and dearest to him. What most surprised Madame Buonaparte was, that Fouché mentioned these informations as extracted from the report made to him by Dubois, the prefect of police.

Madame Buonaparte knew that Dubois owed his place to the protection of Talleyrand, and that Fouché was Talleyrand's enemy; she therefore sent for the latter, and presented him the report of the police minister. In a few hours Talleyrand informed her that the whole was an invention of Fouché, to make himself necessary; but that he would take care the First Consul should not long continue the dupe of this man.

It is said that this report was transmitted to Buonaparte on the morning of the eighth of August, 1802, and that it was in consequence thereof that he wrote for the *Moniteur* of the next day, the well-known, absurd, and virulent philippic against England; Fouché having reported, among other falsehoods, "that English travellers

travellers in France, and Georges, and the chouans residing in England, were closely connected, and had conspired with the disaffected persons who were about him."

On the 15th of the same month, Buonaparte's birth-day, Talleyrand had an opportunity to congratulate the first consul, "upon the tranquillity that reigned every where, and the union of all parties under his mild but firm government, which he had heard with so much satisfaction from Dubois, the police prefect, who assured him that, for the last six months, he had not received any intelligence of discontent or disaffection, either among foreign or intestine rivals or enemies." This compliment made Buonaparte thoughtful, and the next morning he ordered Dubois to send to him, for the future, his police accounts in secret, and to continue to forward them to Fouché, as was his duty.

These counter-reports proved both the guilt and intentions of Fouché, who some time after was unexpectedly dismissed as a police minister; but this crafty intriguer possessed too many of Buonaparte's political, revolutionary, and *family secrets*, to be entirely disgraced, and

and he was therefore appointed a senator; a place of little profit and less importance.*

When the Swiss mock-consulta was put into requisition for Paris, Helvetia, after being enslaved, was insulted, by seeing such a vile man as Fouché one of the consular negociators, or rather dictators, as to the future constitution of that country; a person who was an accomplice of those Septembrizers who, on the 2d September, 1792, in the Abbey prison, murdered the unfortunate Swiss officers and soldiers that had escaped their fury on the 10th of the preceding August, and whose blood had neither been revenged by their country, nor regretted nor bewailed by France.

At his office Fouché was seldom accessible, if money or women had not prepared the way. He made, during 1800 and 1801, large sums of money by the permissions *(surveillances)* granted to emigrants to return to France; none were sold for less than twenty, and some as high as a hundred Louis d'ors. In the usual routine of office, he depended entirely upon his *chefs des divisions* and *chefs de bureau*, some of

* The particulars of this intrigue are taken from Les Nouvelles à la Main, No. IV. an. xi. and La Police de Fouché devoilé, page 72.

of whom had been employed at the police for upwards of thirty years. He was implacable against any one of his inferiors who took bribes without sharing them with him. In August 1800, in one Decade of Thermidor, he sent four *chefs de bureau* and ten clerks, only on suspicion, without a trial, to Cayenne.—His *secret general police* was under the direction of his secretary Desmarets,* called by the French *the damned soul of Fouché.* It was he who examined all state prisoners, and among others, last summer (1802), the Duke of Bouillon. Talleyrand pretends, and with some justice, to have discovered all the plots of the royalists in England, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, during the last war, and that the arrests and seizures made of most state prisoners, and their papers, originated in the information

* Desmarets is about 34 years of age, the son of a breeches-maker at Fontainbleau. By the generosity of an Italian, settled in France, he was educated at the College of Harcourt, at Paris. In 1794 he sent his benefactor to the scaffold, and forced his only child, as the condition of saving her life, to accept him for her husband. He was one of Fouché's associates at Lyons and in La Vendée. In 1800, he caused his own brother, whose poverty was a reproach to his affluence, to be transported to Cayenne, where he died. He is a tyrant over his wife and family, and keeps a mistress in his own house.—*La Police de Fouché devoilé*, page 77.

mation which the police obtained from the foreign office.*

Future ages may judge of the moral and political principles of all classes of society of the present day, when it is known that persons of rank and fashion, from most countries in Europe, travelling in France, have degraded themselves by dancing attendance at the office, and waiting for hours in the ante-chambers of this Fouché, merely to obtain an audience, and his signature to *a pass*, which enabled them to leave *free* France with safety, and to return to their homes with a broken constitution and a ruined fortune, often after having lost their health with one sex, and their property, loyalty, morals, and religion, with another.

It is to be remembered, that Fouché, in his promotion to the senate, was accompanied by the atheist Rœderer, and by the christian, or rather consular, archbishop of Paris; so that Buonaparte added on the same day to this heterogenous collection of senators, a regicide, a convicted assassin and thief, a known atheist, a traitor to his accomplices and to his King, and an old respectable priest, who, from dotage,

* La Police de Fouché devoilé, page 68.

tage, being ninety-two years old, had been persuaded first to accept a revolutionary mitre, and afterwards to dishonour the purple, and scandalize religion, by becoming a Corsican senator.

The office of minister of the general police in the French Republic was, after Fouché's promotion, united with that of the grand judge, a chief officer of the Corsican Legion of Honour. Regnier, the person who occupies this place, has, since the Revolution, been, by turns, a jacobin and a terrorist; has carried the red cap and adored Marat; has been the promoter of revolutionary tyranny, in the name of liberty; has, at all times, either as a legislator or a judge, opposed moderate and recommended violent measures.* It is therefore to be supposed, that if with Fouché the tyrant of the police was removed, the police tyranny will be continued; and as long as France remains a republic, its police, organized by him, will remain the same, and never suffer either any change or diminution in its vexations, corruptions, or oppressions.

Fouché is distinguished by an insinuating character, and a certain easy and agreeable manner

* Dictionnaire Biographique, tom. iii. page 236.

manner of expressing himself. He writes and transacts business with facility, and has great knowledge, both of the Revolution, and of all men who have acted a part in it. He knows their foibles, their passions, and their vices, and how to turn them to the best advantage. As a friar he was ungrateful and ungenerous; as a deputy of the National Convention, cruel and infamous, enforcing the awful decrees, and aggravating even the dreadful; and, as a minister, despotic to his inferiors, treacherous to his equals, and obsequious, submissive, and contemptible with his superiors. From his present senatorial nullity not much were to be apprehended, were he not still the favourite, and often the counsellor of Buonaparte*.

* On the 10th of July, 1804, Fouché was again appointed the minister-general of the French police, and is now as great a favourite with Buonaparte as ever. Madame Buonaparte has brought about a reconciliation between him and Talleyrand.

BARRAS.

In revolutionary times, when royalty is calumniated, humiliated, degraded, and insulted; when rank without power, virtue without riches, and religion without hypocrisy, are exposed to the contempt of the rebel without honour, the rich without generosity, and the hypocrite without a conscience:—in such times, when it is not regarded whether the powerful is guilty, the rich infamous, or the pretender to religion an atheist; when little morality is found in the first classes of society, and less religion among the people; when rebellion is not only excited with impunity, and encouraged by success, but successful by the weakness or selfishness of princes, by the intrigues of their favourites, the treachery of their ministers, and the ignorance of their counsellors;—in such times, it cannot be uninteresting to read the revolutionary life of one of the revolutionary kings of faction, who, during four years, commanded the destiny of Europe; who has fraternized with kings, plundered empires, enslaved nations, changed republics

republics into the provinces of princes, and made principalities provinces of a republic.

Many nobles of the first families in France, who were persecuted by their creditors, or dishonoured by their vices, who had no property or character to lose, and no honour to preserve, joined with ardour in a revolution, which, from its beginning, promised to level all distinctions between the good and the vicious, the worthy and the worthless; and this accounts for Viscount De Barras being amongst its first supporters and promoters.

Paul Francois Jean Nicolas Viscount De Barras was born at Foxemphoux, in Provence, on the 30th June, 1755, and is descended from one of the most ancient families in that county. It is a saying there—"*Noble comme les Barras, aussi anciens que les rochers de Provence,*" At the age of sixteen, he obtained a commission as a sub-lieutenant in the regiment of dragoons of Languedoc, where he soon caused himself to be remarked, not for his talents and application, but for his vices and irregularities. During the reign of the virtuous Louis XVI. nobility was never a protection to the infamous, nor poverty an excuse for baseness.—Barras having appropriated to himself 100

Louis d'ors, belonging to one of his comrades, was publicly degraded, and dismissed with humiliation and disgrace.*

Barras' family was as poor as it was illustrious; and one of its members had, to give him an opportunity of raising a fortune, obtained the very lucrative place of governor in the Isle of France. Dishonoured at home, Barras was very happy to obtain, through the influence of this relative, a place in the regiment of Pondicherry, chiefly composed of young adventurers, who, like himself, having neither property nor reputation in Europe, went to the Indies, in the hope of acquiring both. In proceeding to join his regiment, he was wrecked upon a sunken rock near the Maldive Islands, on the coast of Coromandel. Dangerous as his situation was, he now manifested both courage and presence of mind. After many hardships, he at length arrived safely at Pondicherry, where he remained until it was compelled to surrender to the English. He afterwards served on board M. De Suffrein's squadron, and with the French troops at the Cape of Good Hope.

* See Le Thé, published at Paris, August 1797. After the Revolution of the 4th September, in the same year, Barras transported the author to Cayenne.

Hope. When peace was concluded, he returned to Europe, where he arrived in 1784, with the rank of captain-lieutenant, without having either retrieved his character, or bettered his fortune.

Great cities as often conceal the shame of the guilty, as the virtues and sufferings of the unfortunate: as often does impudent crime meet there with resources, as modest worth is left in distress. After Barras' return from India, he went to Paris, and there joined the numerous gamesters and debauchees with whom that city abounds: he soon after married a prostitute, kept a gambling-house, became fashionable and despised, and, with a competence, was scorned.

In such a situation the Revolution found him, without honour, probity, or character, or any pretension to either. He was disowned by his parents, slighted by his relatives, and shunned by their acquaintance; the Orleans faction had, therefore, not much trouble to add to the number of their associates such an accomplice. He was observed among the plunderers in the suburb of St. Antoine in April, among the murderers and captors of the

Bastile in July, and among the assassins at Versailles in October, 1789.

The alarm which the plots and cruelties of the Orleans faction caused every where in France, and the temporary disgrace of its *nominal* chief, the late infamous Duke of Orleans, made Barras, like many other fashionable patriots, change sides, and become the denouncer and witness against those in whose crimes and confidence he had heretofore participated.

After many long and tumultuous debates, the National Assembly decreed, that the Tribunal of the Chatelet should try those who were accused or suspected of being the conspirators against their King and the Royal Family on the 5th and 6th of October 1789. He therefore made his bargain with La Fayette; and having obtained a company in a colonial regiment, he turned evidence against the Duke of Orleans and the Count de Mirabeau, and, by his discoveries, these traitors were deeply involved. He finished his deposition with these remarkable words: "*That having, on the 5th of October, heard three persons utter horrible things of the King and Queen, he desired to be allowed to prove to them the* INNOCENCE OF THE

THE KING; *but was so ill received, that he was forced to retire, shuddering with horror*.*" The money of Orleans, and the intrigues of Mirabeau, however, caused the intimidated Assembly, and the too good Louis XVI. to bury in oblivion the shocking particulars of this conspiracy.

In 1790, when all loyal officers resigned their commissions, Barras received one in a regiment at the Isle de Bourbon; but anarchy at that time was as great in the colonies as in France; and in expectation of the issue, Barras was permitted to remain at Paris.

* "Qu'ayant entendu, le 5 d'Octobre, trois personnes vomir des horreurs du Roi et de la Reine, il avoit voulu leur prover L'INNOCENCE DU ROI; mais qu'ayant été mal reçu, il s'étoit eloigné en PREMISSANT D'HORREUR."—Proces du 5 et 6 d'Oct. 1789, page 66.

When two of the judges from the Chatelet demanded an audience of the Queen, to inquire of her what she knew about the plots on the 5th and 6th of October 1789, they received this noble and generous answer: "*I have seen every thing, I have known every thing, but I have forgotten every thing* (J'ai tout vûe, J'ai tout sûe, mais J'ai tout oublié.) It is well known, that if two of the King's *garde du corps* had not stopt the assassins sent by Orleans to murder the Queen, in the morning of the 6th of October, by calling out to her to save herself, and sacrificing their own lives to give her time to escape, she would certainly have perished that day. In her journey the same day from Versailles to Paris, the cruel Parisian mob carried the heads of those two *garde du corps* upon pikes, before the Queen's carriage!!!

That a traitor to his King will easily betray a faction, Barras had already proved; but the Orleans party wanted his revolutionary experience, and therefore overlooked his revolutionary treachery. He again shared in their confidence, propagated their principles, plotted against the throne, and undermined the altar. By the influence of the Orleans faction, he was, in August 1792, appointed a juror of the High National Court at Orleans, a tribunal instituted to try all persons suspected to be inimical to the Revolution, and as such proscribed. It was erected by the Constituent Assembly in June 1791, and was the forerunner of Robespierre's Revolutionary Tribunal; but Barras had no time to exercise his honourable function as a revolutiouary juror, because the sovereign people at Paris, who had murdered the numerous prisoners confined in the many gaols of that city, after forcing the National Assembly to order the Orleans prisoners to Paris, went to meet them, on their way thither, at Versailles, and there cruelly and basely butchered them.

In September 1792, Barras was elected, for the department of the Var, a member of the National Convention; an assembly composed of

of every thing that was vile and infamous, but intended to renovate the government of France and to regenerate Frenchmen; to establish a republic upon the ruins of the throne; to procure republican equality instead of monarchical liberty; and to change the subjects of a king into free citizens of a commonwealth. How it succeeded, we have all witnessed; and Frenchmen, when they remember what they have suffered these last eleven years, *what they were before, what they meant to be*, and *what they are*, cannot but curse a Convention that was the disgrace and detestation of France and of Europe.

In 1790, Barras wished to prove to the calumniators of Louis XVI. THE INNOCENCE of that monarch. With the accustomed consistency of modern patriots and factious men, he, in 1793, condemned his *innocent* and good King to the death of a criminal, and by it confirmed the historical truth, *that a rebel easily becomes a regicide.*

Degraded nobles and apostate priests have brought forward the most ungenerous and cruel measures, and committed the most disgusting atrocities of the French Revolution. It was in consequence of Barras' and Billaud de Va-

 rennes'

rennes' horrid speeches at the Jacobin Club, that the unfortunate Queen and the virtuous Madame Elizabeth ascended the scaffold.

Barras has neither political nor military talents; but he possesses, in an ample degree, all the low cunning of the intriguer, with all the indelicacy and impudence of the unprincipled knave; he therefore, alternately, served and betrayed the Orleans faction, and served and betrayed the Brissot faction; and was, by turns, the accomplice and accuser of Marat, Danton, and Robespierre.

When, in 1793, he observed the popularity of Robespierre to increase, and his cruelties to silence clamour by terror, he insinuated himself into the protection of the younger Robespierre, and prostituted an unfortunate cousin, in order to change that protection into friendship.

After Toulon had surrendered to the English, Barras was sent, with the younger Robespierre and Freron, as a deputy of the National Convention, to organize an army for the recapture of that city. All the violent measures in the south of France, and the permanency of the guillotine at Marseilles, Orange, Avignon, and other places, were the results of Barras' orders and regulations.

It

It was during the siege of Toulon that Barras formed his acquaintance with Buonaparte. After that city had been evacuated by the English, Buonaparte executed the cruel orders of Barras; and their victims, the unfortunate inhabitants of Toulon, were murdered *en masse**.

The friendships, or rather the connexions, of the guilty, are seldom of long duration. In sharing the plunder of the Toulonese, Barras did not observe the equality prevalent in his proclamations, and in the speeches of his fellow rebels of the National Convention. He and Freron defrauded the younger Robespierre of his part, and were therefore recalled from this patriotic mission.

At his return to Paris, Barras observed, from the conduct of the elder Robespierre, that he was in disgrace, and he knew that disgrace, with Robespierre, must be death. He therefore united with Tallien, Bourdon, and

 several

* Upon the faith of a proclamation of Barras, Robespierre, and Freron, offering a pardon to all Toulonese who had served or assisted the English during their occupation of Toulon, and who should assemble on the Grand Place, to give in their names, and take the oath of equality, upwards of 1200 men, women, and children, came thither together; but they were *all butchered by grape-shot from Buonaparte's cannon. His report of this patriotic transaction is signed Brutus Buonaparte, citizen sans-culotte.*

several other persons proscribed by Robespierre, who confounding, *as all French rebels have done*, their own safety and interest with the interest and welfare of their country, conspired the destruction of a tyrant who had published his determination to destroy them; and they pretended to have saved France from his bloody tyranny, when they only saved their own lives from his guillotine; for, as long as Barras and his accomplices could share with security in Robespierre's crimes, the honour and safety of their country and the sufferings of their countrymen were never thought of, but Robespierre was their idol.

After the death of Robespierre, Barras was a member of the Military and Diplomatic Committees, and of the Committee of Public Safety. Having no talent but audacity, no recommendation but crime, he was not a member of any great influence; and when, in 1795, a Constitutional Committee was decreed, he was excluded from it.

At this period Barras' only aim was security; and his only security, he thought, was in a distant mission; he intrigued, therefore, to procure it, and obtained for himself the nomination as a conventional governor of the Isle of

of France; and for his *worthy* friend Buonaparte, who had the same inducement to leave his country, and to avoid the reproaching eyes of Frenchmen, he procured permission to go to Constantinople, under the protection of the French ambassador, there to offer his services as an officer of artillery.

It is said, that Cromwell had actually embarked, with some other fanatics, for America, but was stopped and prevented from sailing, which consequently was the cause of his subsequent crimes and elevation. When Barras was ready to set out for L'Orient, and Buonaparte for Marseilles, the indiscreet zeal of the royalists united all guilty men; and the greater their guilt, so much greater was the confidence which their accomplices placed in them. The destination of Barras and Buonaparte was changed; and to this change may truly be ascribed all that Europe has suffered since 1795, and what it still endures.*

Barras,

* Barras had received his instructions, and an American vessel was waiting for him at L'Orient. To save Buonaparte his travelling expences, he was entrusted with dispatches for the French ambassador at Constantinople, and a Ragusan vessel was hired at Marseilles to carry him thither. The imprudent arming of the Parisians changed his destiny, and the destiny of the world. Le Recueil d'Anecdote, p. 196.

Barras, like most men who had dishonoured the military service before the Revolution, and who were members of the national Convention, had promoted himself to the rank of a general; but fearing his own ability, when he was offered the command of the conventional troops against the armed Parisian sections, he caused Buonaparte to be appointed general and commander, under his inspection as a national deputy.

The massacre of the Parisians by Buonaparte, on the 6th of October 1795, made Barras a director; and it was now that, for the first time, his ignorance, insolence, and guilt, assumed the pretension of information, and the language of power, without understanding the manners of high station, or the etiquette of sovereigns. He appropriated to himself all the hunting equipages, all the unsold pictures and furniture of his murdered king; and insulted foreign sovereigns and independant states, by treating their ambassadors with insolence, contempt, and cruelty, by ordering them to quit France, or by sending them to the Temple.—Passion and caprice were his only law of nations; and his equality, upon his republican throne, was to endure neither a superior nor an equal. With

With all the arrogance of an upstart, and all the cruelty of a rebel, he united the haughtiness of a despot, and the vices of a man highly corrupt. He kept a seraglio of women, but was suspected of other infamous propensities, and was always surrounded by young and debauched men, who owed to him their promotion; while persons of merit, morality, and virtue, were disregarded, neglected, or oppressed. He was generally accused of crimes as abominable as unnatural; and when, in July 1798, he ordered young Du Bourg, formerly a page to the king, to be shot as an emigrant, it was commonly reported and believed at Paris, that he died a victim to Barras' detestable passion.*

Barras promoted Buonaparte to be a commander in Italy in 1796, and made Talleyrand a minister in 1797; and it was by his connexion with, and the assistance of those two traitors, that, on the 4th of September 1797, he again crushed the hopes of royalty,† procured new

* The author was a prisoner with Du Bourg, in the Temple, in July 1798, when he was carried to be shot; and heard from him many shocking particulars, which delicacy prevents him from mentioning.

† By the massacre of the Parisians, in October 1795, he had disappointed royalty for the first time.

new success to rebellion, and new respite for regicides and rebels.

Barras, when he shared the throne of France with four other guilty men, under the appellation of Directors, was by turns a jacobin, a royalist, a democrat, or an aristocrat:—having no principles of his own, the only motive for his conduct was fear, and his only policy was to continue in power. In 1796 he caused some jacobins to be guillotined; in 1797 he transported some royalists; in 1798 he condemned some aristocrats; and in 1799 he annulled the elections of the democrats chosen for the Council of Five Hundred. At all times, however, he feared and courted the jacobins more than the royalists.

While, in 1799, after the defeats of the republican armies in Italy and Germany, the royalists were organizing themselves in La Vendée, and the jacobins at Paris were preparing their reign of terror, Barras, by the advice of Talleyrand and Sieyes, hastened the return of Buonaparte from Egypt, as the only means of continuing rebellion, and of saving himself and his associates.

It is often more easy, in countries distracted by civil commotions, to get into power with advantage

advantage and popularity, than to quit it without risk and detestation. Barras was certainly pleased that Buonaparte, in preference to any other man, should succeed him; but he was not satisfied with Buonaparte's usurping a power to himself alone, which he had been forced to share with four associates; and, well knowing how to estimate the gratitude of the guilty, he was apprehensive that Buonaparte would treat him as he had treated his rival accomplices, and expected death or exile to follow dethroned usurpation.

After Buonaparte had, with the assistance of his brother Lucien, swindled the Bourbons out of their throne, and the Directory of its power, Barras sent his secretary Bottot to the Corsican, to know in what manner he intended to act with his revolutionary predecessor.—Buonaparte's answer was laconic, and little satisfactory to a man under whose orders he had butchered twelve hundred Toulonese and eight thousand Parisians; "*Tell Barras* (said he) *that he must know I do not like blood, and that I am not cruel.*" This Corsican message was not very consolatory to a trembling traitor; Barras therefore wrote a long letter to Buonaparte, in which

which he expostulated on their former friendship, and the services that he had rendered him. He added, that, not depending upon his life in a revolution where so many had perished, *he had deposited in a banker's hands, in London, all Buonaparte's former letters to him; besides a memorial, containing the particulars of the origin and continuance of their acquaintance; how Buonaparte had murdered as a terrorist at Toulon, and assassinated as a republican at Paris; how he married his (Barras') mistress to gain promotion, and prostituted his wife to obtain a command; how he transported French soldiers to Egypt, to silence their demands of what was due to their victories in Italy; how he had deserted the remnant of a defeated army entirely confiding in him, at a time when it was threatened with inevitable destruction, either from the arms of its enemies or from the diseases of climate; how his poison had murdered those wounded soldiers who had fought his battles; and his bayonets butchered disarmed enemies, trusting to the laws of war, of humanity, &c. &c. So long as he lived* (Barras continued) *these letters and this memorial would never be published; but they should*

should appear the instant he was no more.— Buonaparte had afterwards an interview with Barras, and settled upon him an annuity of 120,000 livres, on condition that he should not reside at Paris.*

Barras then retired to his estate at Grosbois, near Paris; but Fouché soon found out that he plotted anew with Arena and other jacobins; and he was forced to retire to Brussels, under the inspection of the prefect Doulcet de Pont Coulant, another degraded rebel nobleman.— Ever there he has not escaped the suspicion of Buonaparte, and of his grand judge the minister of Police. He has been accused, at the same time, of favouring the schemes of the royalists, of serving the plots of the jacobins; and conspiring to usurp the supreme authority. This last reproach was made against him three years ago (in 1800) by Buonaparte himself, and was repeated again at Brussels, in an interview of a quarter on an hour, the only time that he saw Buonaparte during his stay in Brabant in 1803, the First Consul having ordered four Mamelukes to be quartered in Barras' house,

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Frimaire l'an viii. No. III. page 9 & 10.

house, and to whose care he was consigned until the former had left Brussels. This new tyranny and contempt have highly exasperated Barras, who cannot shew himself in the streets, without meeting with insults from the mob, encouraged and protected by the police.—Buonaparte's object is, no doubt, either to provoke Barras into some indiscreet measure, which may afford an opportunity to transport him to the colonies; or to force him to shut himself up a prisoner in his own house, and be indebted for his safety to his obscurity.*

Barras is tall and robust, but not handsome; his complexion is of a yellow hue, and his face has often convulsive movements, or, as Carnot has said, *he continually gnashes his teeth.* When in the Directory, among the awkward and ignoble figures of his associates, he was distinguished and admired by strangers, who, if they had seen him in the crowd, would hardly have noticed him. He has no genius, but good sense; and has shewn some judgment even in the crimes that he has committed, or caused to be committed. He has more activity than information, more ambition than capacity. During the

* See Journal d'Olivarius, July, 1803.

the four years that he was a director, he influenced the determinations of the Directory more than any of its other members, although he was the most ignorant, and preferred pleasure to business; because they knew him to be more desperate than courageous, and feared his ferocity more than his bravery. All Barras' panegyrists extol *his great courage;* but *no cruel man* can be called *courageous;* and that Barras has always been cruel, even his flatterers cannot deny. On all occasions when the courage of Barras has been put to a trial, he has had no choice left between victory and death: and he did from despair, what a coward, in his situation, would have done from fear.

As long as Barras was in power, all his biographers were his panegyrists. Since his exile, those who, at the expence of truth, painted, not the man, but the director, have wanted either honour or impartiality enough to correct what was erroneous, or to revoke what was false, in their former characters of this person. The present sketch has therefore been thought necessary, not only to prevent our cotemporaries from being misled, but to inform posterity concerning a man who has acted such a conspicuous

conspicuous part upon the revolutionary stage of France and Europe.*

* The former characters of Barras were the production of revolutionary flatterers or enthusiasts, and chiefly copied from a work called *La Cinq Hommes*, or from Dr. Meyer's Fragments of Paris; an author who, as a true philosopher of the French school, although born a German, has alike admired La Fayette and Mirabeau, Brissot and Petion, Marat and Robespierre, Rewbel and Barras, and who is at present the strenuous admirer of the military despot, the Corsican usurpur and tyrant, Buonaparte! yet Dr. Meyer pretends to be a republican, and a lover of liberty and equality!!!

Carnot's answer to Barras' accusation against him, printed at Nuremburgh, 1798, contains some of the remarks inserted here, but with caution, as Carnot was Barras' enemy.

Drawn & Engraved by Hugel.

MARSHAL NEY.

RŒDERER,

ONE OF BUONAPARTE'S SENATORS.

RŒDERER was a counsellor of the parliament of Metz, when, in 1789, he was elected a deputy to the States General. In every part of France, most of those who were chosen members to these States, were before known either as disaffected or as intriguers, either as encyclopedists, atheists, philosophers, or economists;* and to these last Rœderer pretended to belong.

All the plotters against the throne and the altar were enlisted under the banners of one or the other of these very numerous parties and sects, which were constantly speculating, scheming, preaching, and writing, about politics and religion. In all classes of society in France, just before the Revolution, it was as fashionable

* Voltaire, Diderot, D'Alembert, Helvetius, and others, called themselves philosophers, and, as such, inserted in the French Encyclopædia their irreligious and anti-social productions: their adherents were therefore called Encyclopedists.

The late minister of Louis XVI. Turgot, and Dupont De Nemours, were, with Rœderer, the most active of the economists: so styled from their absurd schemes of dangerous or impracticable innovations in the political economy of states.

fashionable to be discontented, and to speak in favour of innovation under the name of reform, as it was ridiculous and dangerous to believe and acknowledge that our ancestors knew as much as we do, and that monarchy is, for the welfare of mankind, the best of governments, and christianity the best and only religion for future felicity, as well as for present policy. Amongst all these fashionables, Rœderer was the most fashionable. Speaking with fluency the language of sophistry, he seduced the ignorant, confirmed the irresolute, converted the weak, and bid defiance to shame, morality, and religion. Married to a virtuous woman, by whom he had several children, he publicly kept the wife of his private secretary as his mistress, with whom he squandered away the dowry of his wife, the inheritance of his children, and the fortune of his family; he was, besides, in debt, extravagant, and ambitious; and therefore joined with ardour, in the beginning of the Revolution, those traitors who prepared the way for it.*

When the States-General decreed themselves to be a National Assembly, Rœderer belonged to

* See Le Patriot Rœderer demasqué, printed by Antoine at Metz, 1792, page 4.

to the Orleans faction: after the massacre at Versailles, when this faction became detested, he united himself with La Fayette and his party, to create (what was as absurd as impolitic) a royal democracy.

Rœderer was a member of several committees, and one of the advocates and propagators of the dangerous *Rights of Man:* he voted for the destruction of the nobility, for the cessation of privileges, for the sale of the church lands, and for the schism in the religion of his country.

With all that duplicity which has often been the reproach of his countrymen, the people of Lorraine, he continued to serve the cause of rebellion, and at the same time to court the favour of royalty by an hypocritical moderation; his speeches were democratical, his conduct equivocal, but his anonymous writings were loyal.

Rœderer had too great ambition not to pretend to celebrity, yet too great cowardice to aspire to renown as chief of a party. Any faction which he observed to be popular he flattered; and he cajoled its opposers, by presenting plans of reconciliation that he knew could never be accepted, but which were serviceable

to him in the several conflicts for power between the several rival rebels, either as a recommendation to notice, or an extenuation of deceit.

As an economist, he had claims to be a member of the Financial Committee, which, in 1790, was the dispenser of assignats and the disposer of the national treasury; but as there were so many more popular rebels of the National Assembly, who, like him, had debts to pay, to his mortification he was excluded.

Rœderer's principal creditors were the Jews at Metz, who, with their sectaries, suffered in France an unjust and odious oppression, both from political prejudice and religious fanaticism. To pay his debts, and to gain new resources for future prodigality, Rœderer did not cease to write and to speak, until the Jews had obtained the privileges and rights of other Frenchmen. For this *disinterested*, patriotic, and philosophical transaction, he received from the synagogue 1,200,000 livres.*

After the return of Louis XVI. from his unfortunate journey to Varennes, he connected himself more closely with La Fayette, La Methe, Barnave, and other traitors, who, not satisfied

* See the last-mentioned pamphlet, page 18.

fied with having degraded monarchy, expected to reign in the name of their King, and were then the distributors of all places and pensions.

When, in September 1791, the Constituent assembly was dissolved, the Duke de la Rochefoucault was elected president of the department of Paris, called the Upper Seine, and Rœderer its *procureur syndic*, or secretary.

Rœderer, as well as the other constitutional rebels, had nothing more to hope or to apprehend from a sovereign without power, insulted, and betrayed; but he had every thing to fear from the revolutionary progeny, the jacobins, who, in their turn, wished to be powerful and rich. In November, 1791, the Duke de la Rochefoucault and Rœderer intrigued, but in vain, to exclude the jacobin Petion from the mayoralty of Paris. This ill success shewed him the necessity of inventing some new means to please the jacobins, without losing his place or offending his party; he therefore insinuated himself into the friendship of Petion, by disclosing to him a part of the deliberations of the department, entirely composed of his enemies.*

* See the same pamphlet, page 22.

At this period Rœderer spoke publicly in favour of constitutional monarchy; but he wrote secretly, with Condorcet and Brissot, on the advantage of establishing a republic. In his official writings he denounced the jacobins as rebels and conspirators; but in his private publications he praised them as patriots, and extolled them as philanthropists.

It was the policy, as well as the interest, of many men of abilities in the National Assembly, to have a newspaper of their own manufactory, or to be the editors of some well-accredited paper. Mirabeau had his *Journal de Provence;* Brissot his *Patriot François*, and Condorcet his *Chronique de Paris:* Rœderer therefore was engaged in conducting the *Journal de Paris*, the only daily paper before the Revolution: he expected to make it the official gazette of the constitutional royalists; but in wishing to content all parties, he offended the factious of all factions, to the ruin of thirty families, proprietors of this most ancient French newspaper. The presses of the *Journal de Paris* were seized and confiscated by Marat's band, after the 10th of August, 1792, and again by the jacobin faction of the Directory, after the 4th of September, 1797; and from

from being only the editor, he, by many infamous underhand dealings, has since become the sole proprietor of this paper, for which he paid no more than what was the profit of a single week in 1789.*

The constitution of 1791 was no sooner accepted by the King, than it was undermined by the rebellious jacobins; and a king without nobles, and a monarchy of equality, were easily changed into a republic of brigands, and an anarchy of assassins and plunderers.—The first attack against the ruins of the throne, however, on the 20th of June, 1792, did not succeed; and the chief conspirator, Petion, was, by the department of Paris, censured for his negligence, and suspended from his functions as mayor of that city. Rœderer, as secretary, had concurred in and signed this censure and suspension; but, with his usual perfidiousness, he dissuaded the King from sanctioning it; and Petion continued to conspire with impunity.

On that fatal day, the 10th of August, 1792, Rœderer, as a public functionary, was at the castle of the Thuilleries, and, in the name of the constitution, *ordered the Swiss and the*

* See Ami des Loix, by Poultier, Dec. 26, 1799. No. 360.

bel, Barras, and Carnot, excluded him from a place to which he was proposed by the Director La Tourneur.

To revenge himself, Rœderer made his *Journal de Paris* a vehicle of abuse and ridicule against the Directory ; but, to save himself from their vengeance, his nephew passed for, and was nominated the editor ; and when, after the revolution of the 4th of September, 1797, the jacobin faction of the Directory transported most of the editors of newspapers, Rœderer's nephew was sent to Cayenne (where he died) for what his uncle had the cowardly infamy to force him to publish.*

Rœderer was, however, ordered to be arrested ; but, by a new concealment, escaped for the second time the fury and punishment of faction. By some pecuniary sacrifices, in 1798, his arrest was annulled ; and until the return of Buonaparte, he principally occupied himself in antichristian lectures at the republican Lyceum, and by speculating in purchases of national property. For two years purchase he bought and still possesses the numerous forges in the countries of Luxemburgh and Metzin ; and

* Secret anecdotes concerning the 18th Fructidor, by De La Revas, page 93, in the Note.

and for 12,000 livres in cash he purchased an abbey, of which the building alone cost upwards of one million of livres.*

Some persons now imagined that avarice had got the better of his ambition, and that he preferred obscurity and safety to power and trouble; but when Buonaparte wanted to unite all the different rebels of all the different factions, all traitors either to their king or to their accomplices, Rœderer presented himself, and was created a president in the section of interior of the Council of State, as a reward for the assistance that he, with Talleyrand and Volney, had lent Buonaparte in the overthrow of the Directory.

In proportion as the fortune of Buonaparte strengthened his usurpation, Rœderer became his humble valet, under pretence of being an absolute favourite and a necessary counsellor. Whatever measures Buonaparte proposed, even the most tyrannical, absurd, and contradictory, he approved or improved; in short, his conduct was so base, that he was the scorn and contempt even of Buonaparte's contemptible Council of State.

When, in the autumn of 1800, Lucien Buo-

* See Ami des Loix, by Poultier, Dec. 26, 1799, No. 360.

naparte was disgraced, and resigned the ministry of the home department, Rœderer intrigued to be his successor; but Talleyrand interfered, and, either through jealousy or fear, pointed out to Buonaparte the danger of trusting this place to a man who, in his present situation, had never conferred a place in his gift upon talents, but upon ignorant relations, or vicious sycophants, in reward for the prostitution of their wives, sisters, or daughters.

In 1801, Rœderer was sent as a pro-consul to his native country, and to several departments in the neighbourhood, to organize the different prefectures: he here made a parade of his luxury, of his profligacy, and of his consequence; he had his levees at Metz, as Buonaparte had at Paris; and no petitions were received, or, if received, attended to, except those presented by vicious beauty to vice in power, or accompanied by presents to his son, and to his nephew Gentil, who were his confidential secretaries.

On Rœderer's return to Paris, Buonaparte made his son a secretary to the legation at Amiens, with a promise of being continued in the same place with the French ambassador in England.* Fouché

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Germinal an. x. No. 11. pag. 4. et 5.

Fouché as well as Rœderer had felt the effect of Talleyrand's exclusive influence with Buonaparte, and they therefore agreed to plot his ruin. Talleyrand, however, not only discovered their plan, but turned it against themselves; as the first proof of his revenge, he prevented the promised appointment of young Rœderer; and some time after, he caused both Fouché and Rœderer to be sent into the Senate; well knowing that senatorial nullity would be a severe punishment to intriguing activity and to active intriguers. Here probably Rœderer's revolutionary fortune will rest, until some new revolution shall either proscribe him again, or change a Corsican senator into the counsellor or confidant of some of the successors of the Corsican.

There are, however, some farther traits in Rœderer's conduct and character which deserve notice, because they well depict the man.

In 1791, Rœderer did every thing in his power to expose the parliament of Metz, of which he was a member, to the censure of the National Assembly, or to imprisonment and to a trial at the great national court at Orleans; and this at a period when prison, trial, and death were synonymous.

In 1801, he wrote a long dissertation on the necessity of unanimity in all public and civil bodies; and declared, that a counsellor of state who calumniated his comrades, or exposed their defects, was as guilty as one who betrayed the secrets of the state, or who plotted against his country.

In 1790, he created a jacobin club at Metz, *as the best support of a constitutional government;* and he wrote in the *Journal de Paris*, that it was impossible to fix the limits between the liberty and the licentiousness of the press; *that the latter destroyed the utility of the former.*

In March 1796, when all clubs were interdicted, and the liberty of the press was permitted, he wrote in the same Journal, *that clubs were only useful against a government which one wished to overturn, but dangerous to a government which one wished to preserve; that clubs make men and undo things;* while *the liberty of the press is necessary for the preservation both of men and things; the protector of governors as well as of the governed.**

In 1792, the Swiss citizens of the King's guard were by his treachery sacrificed and butchered.

* Les Nouvelles à la Main, Germinal an. ix. No. VI. pag. 9 et 10.

butchered. In 1802, after many intrigues, he was made one of the French negociators who imposed upon the deputies of Switzerland its present Corsican constitution.

Rœderer was at all times an enemy to the Christian religion; *his writings, for years, went to ridicule all religions, and, in particular, the idea of a national religion.* In 1802, he published an elaborate speech, *proving the absolute necessity of religion, and the great usefulness of an established, or state religion.*

In his justification to the jacobins, printed in 1792, he declared himself to have been always *a friend to equality, without which he knew no liberty could subsist.* In 1802, he called the friends of equality, dreamers, fools, or rogues; and said, that *where equality was proclaimed, liberty was always annihilated.**

Among the Corsican slaves, Rœderer is one of the greatest anti-Anglomans. He proposed in the Council of State, in 1802, to erect into a system of education, and to inculcate in lessons to all French youth, hatred to England, and the necessity of its ruin for the welfare of the universe. England is particularly honoured

* See Journal de Paris, October 15, 1792, and March 8, 1802.

ed with the detestation of all French rebels; and the more numerous their crimes, and the greater their apprehensions of the return of order, the more violent is their enmity to Great Britain, and the more ardent are their wishes for its destruction.

Rœderer, faithful to the double character of pretension and perfidy, of insolence and meanness, praises now a consular republic, as he did formerly a constitutional monarchy. He is a sycophant to Buonaparte, as he had before been to La Fayette, Petion, Robespierre, and Barras. Vain without honour, proud without dignity, and ambitious without courage, he would prostrate himself before the idol of the day, whether a legal king or a Corsican usurper, a prince or a regicide: they are the same to him, provided he only cringes, has a place, and is noticed.

CHASSEBŒUF DE VOLNEY.

ONE OF BUONAPARTE'S SENATORS.

THE enthusiasm of the French, since the Revolution, for the institutions of the ancients, was at first ridiculous and foolish: but afterwards dangerous and fatal. They have, by turns, shewn an extravagant admiration for unmanageable democracies, for a savage anarchy, for badly organized aristocracies, for very imperfect legislations, and for a tyrannical consulate, totally imcompatible with their customs and morality, the extent of their territory, the great progress in their civilization, and their wish for a rational liberty. They have foolishly shewn the most violent passion for sentiments always exaggerated, often ferocious; for pretended public virtues, which smothered or suppressed all private and domestic comfort; for fanatics, who, to a chimerical liberty, sacrificed their fathers, their brothers, and their children, the security of their fellow-citizens, and the liberty of the world; forgetting that it would

would be better to be less free, and more humane and just; to have less share in the sovereignty, and a greater portion of happiness and tranquillity; to be a loyal subject of a lawful king, than the degraded slave of an usurper. M. De Volney, by his writings and his example, has contributed his part to what has been either frivolous or cruel, hazardous or degrading, in the transactions of his countrymen, for the last fifteen years.

M. De Volney was one of the few men of any real property, who joined with ardour in a revolution which has often proscribed the proprietors, and always made their possessions unsafe. From being Seneschal of Anjou, chosen to be a member of the States-General, afterwards called the National Assembly, he arrived in Paris with a literary reputation; which was not improved, however, but rather diminished, by his want of oratorical talents, and of liberal and polite manners.

Before the Revolution, he had property, but no rank; abilities, but no patron; no religion, but great presumption. He intrigued in vain to obtain promotion either in the church, the army, or the state; and, in revenge, he assisted to disturb the state, disorganize the army, and

and destroy the church. Under a pretence of unveiling priestcraft, and ridiculing superstition, of exposing the horrors of tyranny, and proving the blessings of liberty, he has sacrilegiously calumniated the religion of his country, reviled its hereditary monarchical government; and, at length, after having witnessed the sufferings and wretchedness of his countrymen for years, and the sacrifice of millions of lives, he has, with other atheists and propagators of equality, been forced to submit to a consular tyranny, both dishonourable and oppressive in the extreme.*

Whilst a member of the National Assembly, he always joined with the most violent party, and voted for the most ungenerous and outrageous measures against the nobility and the clergy. In August and September 1789, he often ascended the tribune, to hasten the judgment and condemnation of Baron De Bezenwal, a Swiss general officer in the French service, who, for doing his duty, in obeying the orders of the King's ministers, had with difficulty been saved from the then fashionable lantern of the revolutionary Parisian brigands; and,

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Floreal an ix. No. VIII. page 8.

and, contrary to the treaties and capitulations between France and Switzerland, was in a prison, waiting his trial by a civil court of justice, for an alleged crime which belonged peculiarly to the cognizance or inquiry of a military council.

In all his speeches, during the different debates about a plan for a new constitution, M. De Volney with the greatest tenderness, spoke for the absurd and imaginary sovereignty of the sovereign people. On one occasion (February 1791), *he called the attempt to invade or to divide its power and rights, a regicide suicide;* and at another time (May, 1791) he said in a moment of revolutionary enthusiasm, *that a traitor to the sovereign people was a monster, outlawed by the laws of nature, of God, and of Man, whom every body had a right (no! it was every body's duty) to pursue, every nation ought to proscribe, and who had to expect no safety upon earth, and no rest in heaven.* This is only mentioned as a specimen of his eloquence, and a proof of his principles, at this period of the French Revolution.

When any question was discussed concerning the powers and privileges of the executive government of France, he often declared himself

self against the royal prerogative and the King's authority. In May 1790, during the deliberations about the right of declaring war, or of concluding treaties of peace, he strenuously maintained, that the King should not only be deprived of the power to declare offensive wars, but even prevented by the constitution from acting on the defensive, if attacked; without having first obtained the consent and approbation of the national representatives, to *whom alone* he would have entrusted and confided all negotiations about treaties, either political or commerical, as well as all offensive or defensive alliances.

With warmth and activity M. De Volney proceeded to get decreed the plunder of the clergy, and the confiscation and sale of the church-lands. He, with many other anti-christian members of the Constituent Assembly, wished to beggar and ruin the christian clergymen, before they proscribed them and their religion. Their plan was too well contrived not to succeed; and for eleven years, from 1789 to 1800, plunder and proscription, proscription and plunder, have continued to succeed each other, and have been the sole rewards, in France, both of the preachers of the gospel,

gospel, and the worshippers of Christ. According to Camille Jourdan's report in the Council of Five Hundred, May 1797, no less than 19,000 priests, friars, and nuns, had THEN perished since 1789, in the prisons, in exile, or on the scaffold; and, according to the report of Portalis, in the council of state, in April 1802, since 1797 the Directory had, *without any trial*, sent 800 priests to Cayenne, where most of those who survived the ill-treatment during their voyage were exposed to certain death, from want, from disease, and from the effects of an unhealthy climate.—When Buonaparte recalled these victims of revolutionary intolerance, only 62 were alive of the 800 transported; and of these only 44 arrived in France.* It cannot be supposed that M. De Volney, had he foreseen the misery and the sufferings of this class of his countrymen, could have been cruel enough to bring about measures, the consequence of which he did not foresee; although he might easily have conjectured, from the characters of his associates, and their avowed principles, that the lives of their fellow-citizens were of little value to

* Les Souffrance du Clergé en France pendant la Revolution, chez Dusenne, an ix. page 145.

to them, as they highly esteemed, envied, and coveted their property. In all his declamations against priests, he laid it down as a rule, that they could only be divided into two classes, *religious hypocrites and religious fanatics*: nobody accused him of being a revolutionary hypocrite; but when, on all occasions, he shewed himself the personal enemy of the old, virtuous and respectable archbishop of Paris, M. de Juigne, whom his enmity at last forced to emigrate; even the less liberal of his adherents declared that they despised him as a revolutionary fanatic, more barbarous than a religious one.

In August 1791, he did homage to the National Assembly, by presenting his lately published work called *The Ruins: or Meditations on the Revolutions of Empires.* In this work, as well as in all his former or later publications, in his voyages, as well as in his Historical Lectures, he attacks, either directly or indirectly, the christian religion; and, as a great writer has observed, in them *subtilty furnishes arms to impudence, and invention leads on credulity.* A *pretended philosopher*, he affects to meditate on, and to describe the ruins of former empires, at the same time that he, as a real

a real conspirator, assists in bringing about the ruin of his own country, that he may, as Abbé Maury said (September, 1791), *in another volume add a pathetic and true picture of the ruins of the French empire.*

After the return of Louis XVI. from Varennes, and his temporary suspension from the royal authority, M. De Volney united with those determined republicans, Condorcet, Brissot, Petion, and Robespierre, and tried with them to change the suspension of the King into a change of the government; he differed, however, with those men as to the executive power, which he desired to entrust to an hereditary president, and to make this presidency hereditary in the Orleans branch of the Bourbon family. In a pamphlet printed about this time, and supposed to come from the pen of the Marquis De Clermont De Tonnere (called M. De Volney Demasqué,) it is urged, among other severe reproaches, "*that he intended to degrade monarchy by making a president a monarch, and to elevate insupportable republics by decreeing them hereditary monarchies; that he expected to be the first president's first minister, to govern a republic impossible to be governed,*

verned, and from the tail of the Orleans faction ascend to head the presidency of the Orleans."

Within two months after the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, he thought himself forgotten, or at least confounded among the many guilty and nameless men who with him had brought about the revolution. To make France and Europe again talk as well of De Volney the patriot as of De Volney the author, he picked up a matter both ridiculous and impertinent. Voltaire, and other philosophers of his school, had made it as fashionable as it was advantageous, to court the Empress of Russia, Catherine II. by dedications of their works, and to flatter her vanity by praising her *great* literary abilities. In 1787, he presented to the Russian ambassador at Paris, for his sovereign, a work called *Mon Voyage*, accompanied with a letter, absurd as well as servile, demanding "*the favour of the protection, and the honour of the protection of such a great and competent judge, the* FEMALE SOLOMON *of the North.*" In return, the Empress ordered her ambassador to present M. De Volney with the usual gold medallion, with which she rewarded most men of letters who sent to her the productions of their genius. After

Louis

Louis XVI. had been arrested at Varennes, the Empress recalled her ambassador in France; and when the King had been *forced* to accept the constitution of 1791, and notified this acceptance, and his desire to continue the former ties of amity and alliance with Russia by sending an ambassador, the Empress declined the latter, because she knew that the King had not been free to accept or refuse the former. More from a hope of being noticed than in the zeal of patriotism, M. De Volney had, on the 4th December, 1791, the impudence to write to Baron De Grim, the Russian chargé d'affaires at Paris, and to return the medallion.—His letter, in which he says "*that a citizen of regenerated* (he should have said revolted) *France could not retain any thing coming from an enemy of the French Revolution,*" is remarkable, through the whole, for a style as unbecoming as it is contradictory to that of his letter in 1787. It was answered by a very able and spirited writer, who signed himself Petroskoy, and M. De Volney was held up to just and well-deserved contempt. He had, besides, soon reason to regret the publicity that he gave to his factious ambition, and to his factious patriotism; because, when the jacobins

Desaix.

Desaix

bins exalted his disinterestedness, the royalists found out, and published as a proof of it, "*that within a fortnight after he had returned a gold medallion worth* 20 *Louis, he bought a national estate for* 20,000 *livres, worth at least* 200,000 *livres.**

The modern philosopher, J. J. Rousseau had been invited by the Corsicans, during their civil wars, to come and reside among them, and to prepare for them a republican constitution, which should make them alike free and happy. Rousseau, in his letters to Marshal Keith, at Neuchatel, says, "that *he had accepted of this offer, because the Corsicans were a* NEW *people as to their civilization, without the prejudices and vices of other European nations.*" (Rousseau did not remember that *this new people* were known to ancient Rome, both for their vices and treachery; so much so, that the Romans would not have a Corsican even for a slave). However, Rousseau changed his intention of going to Corsica.—But what he had said about this *new people* made a great impression on the minds of many young zealots who had read his dangerous works;

* See L'Ami du Roi, January 1792, No. 30, page 2.

works; amongst others, M. De Volney was no sooner of age, and could dispose of his patrimony, than he went to settle among this *new people*. In buying large estates there, he was imposed upon; and in resenting the imposition, he was threatened with the stillettos of the impostors; to save his life, therefore, he was, in 1786, obliged to dispose of his Corsican property at a great loss: he left Corsica in disgust, and, as he has often said, with an abhorrence of those infamous islanders. He was now cured of his romantic ideas about happiness, *à la Rousseau*, among this *new people*; but it did not prevent him, as has already been observed, from trying upon his own countrymen, and in his own country, the absurd theories, or rather reveries, of Rousseau, the fallacy of which he had so recently experienced.*

The danger that in 1792 accompanied an anarchy in France, brought about by M. De Volney and his associates, obliged him to seek refuge in America. By this prudent step he saved his life, and at the same time had an opportunity of experiencing the comfort of a republican government. That his residence in that

* See Les Incroyable, a pamphlet printed by the widow Louvet, 1799, at Paris, page 15.

that country was not very agreeable to him is evident, from his sudden return to France as soon as the activity of Robespierre's guillotine had ceased, and from the contempt and ridicule with which he honours the *new people* of America; who, he says, surpass as much the Corsicans in rudeness and inhospitality, as the Corsicans surpass them in cruelty and treachery. The modern reformers and innovators are rather too nice, or too presuming, in demanding perfection in a world where nothing is perfect; instead of framing their books according to what they see of society, they form their ideas of society according to their books, and thus meet with disappointments where they should never have expected success.

In October 1794, M. De Volney landed again in France, where he *found ruins, nothing but ruins*, the effects of his favourite revolution that had regenerated France. In a letter to General Washington, of the 15th Vendemiaire, year iii. or 8th October, 1794, he says, "*I have only been absent from my country two years, and I hardly know it again: two centuries have not made so great and cruel changes in other devastated countries, as these last two years have made in France. I see every where*

ruins, and nothing but ruins: our throne, our altars, our cities, our villages, our castles, and our cottages, are all in ruins: our ci-devant *nobility and clergy, our magistrates, our merchants and manufacturers, are all ruined.*" After such a confession, it is hardly possible that the virtuous Washington could any longer esteem the reforming philosopher De Volney.*

In November of the same year, he was nominated Teacher and Professor of History in the Normal Schools at Paris; but being a very indifferent orator, his historical lectures were little frequented, and, after he had printed them, less read. In 1796 he was chosen a member of the National Institute; he continued, however, in an oblivion, tormenting to an ambitious mind, until the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, or 9th November, 1799; when, according to the advice of Sieyes, Buonaparte having determined to employ all men of talents of the Constituent Assembly, Volney was one of the first whom he sent for and consulted.—In December of the same year, he was appointed a member of the Conservative Senate, after he had in vain wished and intrigued to become one of the consuls.†

Since

* See Journal de Feuillant, Nivose 5, year iii.

† Dictionnaire Biographique, art. Volney.

Since 1789 M. De Volney has materially changed his revolutionary and political principles: he is no longer an advocate either for the sovereignty of the people or for the rights of man; but his hatred against the Christian religion is always the same. When Buonaparte, in April 1802, caused the Concordat for re-establishing the Christian religion to be proclaimed, he demanded an audience, and strongly remonstrated *against this farce*, as he called it. M. De Volney had, since 1799, been rather a favourite with Buonaparte, and his remonstrance therefore received no rebuke; the Consul only told his senator, *that a 99-100th part of the French people desired the return of religion.* That may be true, answered M. De Volney; but it is also true,—"*that a 99½-100th part of Frenchmen sigh and pray for the return of the Bourbons.*"—Since that time Buonaparte has seldom noticed him; and he continues, in revenge for this neglect, to write in the newspaper, *Le Citoyen François*, sarcasms against the clergy, and abuse against religion.*

* Since Buonaparte's accomplices have made him a revolutionary Emperor, this newspaper was ordered by the police to change its appellation to *Le Courier François: L'Escclare François* would have been a more appropriate title.

M. De Volney affects rudeness, frankness, and a blunt conduct: his friends say that this is his natural character; but his enemies accuse him of imitating the ancients only through affectation, and the desire of being distinguished; they say that he wishes to convert a passionate character into a blunt one, and to disguise the want of feeling by an unfeeling frankness. He certainly possesses a great deal of information, but no profound knowledge, nor a correct and penetrating judgment. He writes with facility, but he abuses this facility in all his writings. Like most of his countrymen, he has a great presumption of his own abilities, and a high opinion of his literary, political, and revolutionary merit; but as in all his writings he eternally attacks and calumniates the Christian religion;—and as where there is no religion there can be no virtue, and where no virtue no happiness;—all loyal men suspect that his senatorial *toga* covers neither a religious, a virtuous, nor a happy man.

GENERALS

IN THE

ARMY OF ENGLAND.

THE jealousy of Buonaparte induces him to employ generals almost unknown; and his policy is, to trust the command of his armies to no man whose reputation is established. This accounts for the many nameless chiefs who head the troops upon our opposite shores; men who hitherto have done nothing great to deserve notoriety, and little good to occupy a place in history. They are therefore noticed only, as serving in an army which the First Consul has the impudence to call his Army of England; and as obscurity baffles the researches of the inquisitive, and their past actions have been few or trifling, neither eminent nor meritorious, the sketches of their lives must always be short, and often uninteresting.

SOULT.

Soult, the Commander in Chief of the Army against England, assembled at St. Omer, was, before the Revolution, a private in the 23d regiment of foot. In 1792, Robespierre promoted him, for his *known* patriotism, to the rank of captain in the national guards; and, in spring 1793, he served under General Custine, on the Rhine, and was wounded at Mayence. A short time after, Robespierre again gave him the rank of chief of brigade; but when his patron perished, he was dismissed the service. In 1796, however, he was again restored to his rank by Carnot, and served in the army of the Rhine, under General Moreau, during the famous retreat through the Black Forest. By the recommendation of Hoche, he was, in 1798, nominated a general of brigade in the army of the Sambre and Meuse, where he caused himself to be noticed, not for his talents, but for his absurd jacobinical principles. In 1800, Buonaparte appointed him Lieutenant-General in the army under Massena, and he distinguished himself several times during the siege of Genoa; but his laurels of victory were stained with blood, and dishonoured by the plunder of his friends, as well as by the spoil of his enemies.

Soult is not deficient in intelligence or bravery, but is a most notorious revolutionary intriguer; according to the opinion of Moreau and Massena, "more fit to make motions at a club, to bow in the ante-chamber of a revolutionary committee, or of a republican tyrant, than to head an army." His present appointment proves, however, that he well knows how to conceal or disguise an ambition which many know to be both ridiculous and extravagant, and which therefore would certainly offend and alarm the suspicious Corsican were he to perceive it: the man whom he suspected of a longing for the consular throne, would never command, but certainly perish.

General Soult is about 45 years of age, strong and active, but a libertine, and avaricious; glory is only his third passion: money and women are the first two. When he heard of his present appointment, he said, in the presence of a person now in London, "*that he was going to recruit for a seraglio and to fill his coffers, by putting into requisition English girls and English guineas.*" In a word, he is a terrorist!*

*See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 221, and Les Nouvelles à la Main, Ventose, year viii. No. iv. page 10.

DUMAS.

Dumas, Chief of the staff of the Army of England, is the only general of any distinguished talents hitherto known to be employed in Buonaparte's grand expedition against the British empire.

Dumas was born a gentleman, and was formerly an officer in the regiment of Languedoc. He served during the American war under La Fayette, as colonel; with most of the French officers who fought for rebellion in America, he imbibed disloyal and revolutionary principles; and when the standard of revolt was raised in their own country, they flocked around it with enthusiasm.

In 1789, Dumas joined La Fayette's faction, and with it, under pretence of wishing for a limited monarchy, established royal democracy as preparatory to republican anarchy. When La Fayette was chosen commander in chief of the Parisian national guard, Dumas obtained a place on the staff, and presented a plan for the organization of the national guard, not only at Paris, but all over France, which was approved by La Fayette, and adopted by the National Assembly.

In May 1791, he was sent as commissary to the province of Alsace, to keep up and direct the public spirit of the inhabitants in favour of the Revolution. When, in June following, the unfortunate Louis XVI. to spare the lives of his unworthy and rebellious subjects, caused himself to be arrested at Varennes, Dumas received full powers to put into requisition all the troops that he thought necessary to escort that prince on his return to Paris; and in reward for this undutiful conduct, the King was forced to promote him to the rank of marechal-de-camp, or major-general, and to employ him in that capacity in the province of Lorrain. In September of the same year, when the Constituent Assembly had finished its treacherous and dangerous innovations, and was succeeded by the Legislative Assembly, Dumas was elected one of its members for the department of the Seine and Oise, and became one of the principal chiefs of the club of the Feuillants, erected by the constitutional rebels, in opposition to the jacobin club of republican levellers. He was generally of moderate principles, if it can be called moderation to occupy a place derived from insurrection against lawful authority, and only

santioned by a king surrounded by daggers, under the axe of a revolutionary guillotine.*

In the winter of 1791, and the spring of 1792, Dumas did every thing in his power to prevent or to withhold the declaration of war against the House of Austria, which the cruel policy of the Brissot faction thought necessary, not only for the safety of rebels and the success of rebellion, but to embroil the universe; or, as Brissot impudently asserted, "*to set fire to the four corners of the globe.*"

In February 1792, Dumas was called to the chair as President of the National Assembly, and acted in such a manner, that he offended the jacobins without pleasing the royalists. On the 11th of the following May, he defended with eloquence those French generals who had lately been defeated by the Imperialists in Flanders and in Barbant, against the jacobins, who, disregarding or confounding all notions of liberality and justice, wished to punish misfortunes as faults, and faults as treason.

About this time the republicans had determined to throw off the mask, and openly to overturn a throne, which for four years they had

* See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 193, and Le Dictionnaire des Hommes Marques, art. Dumas.

had secretly undermined: as a first step, they, by a decree of the National Assembly, obliged Louis XVI. to dismiss and disband his constitutional body guard; on this occasion, Dumas, in a very accute speech, proved, that the legislative power had no right to argue against the guard of the King: his discourse was applauded by the whole Assembly, but the decree passed by a large majority. On the 20th of June, Dumas strongly reprobated the outrageous conduct of the jacobins (under the guidance of the infamous Santerre, and with the approbation of the treacherous Petion) toward the king, his person, and family; imputed to Roland, and the other ministers of his party whom Brissot had forced upon the king, all the failures and discomfitures which had been sustained by the French army; exposed their ignorance, their ambition, and their crimes; denounced Dumourier as having seized upon a command, without the consent either of the King or of Field-Marshal Luckner, the commander in chief; and publicly declared that these ministers and their adherents in the National-Assembly, had endangered the safety of the state. This was the last time that Dumas had an opportunity to defend a monarchy which

which had been long tottering through the intrigues, plots, and innovations of himself and his partisans of the Constituent Assembly, who imagined then, as Brissot, Robespiere, and Barras have done since, and as Buonaparte does yet, that because *they* had usurped power and place, every thing was for the best; France free, Frenchmen happy, and the Revolution at an end.*

During the years 1793 and 1794, Dumas, by concealment and obscurity, escaped the proscriptions of the terrorists, and the guillotine of Robespierre. In 1795, he was again elected a member of the Council of Ancients, where he occupied most of his time in their military committee; and, on the 3d of November, 1796, made a report, in which he paid a just tribute of admiration to General Moreau's excellent retreat from Brisgau. He published, at the same period, a work, called *Resultat de la derniere Campagne*, with the intent of persuading the Directory to conclude a peace with the Emperor, and not to insist upon retaining any other of the conquests which France had made, than Luxemburgh, Tournay, Antwerp, and Maestricht.

On

* See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 196.

On the 28th of July, 1797, he spoke strongly against the Directory, for its infraction of the constitutional laws, in ordering troops to approach the capital; he was, therefore, on the 5th of September following, condemned with Pichegru and other loyal men, *without trial*, to be transported to Cayenne. By putting on his regimentals as a general officer, however, and by travelling in this dress, he escaped into Germany; and during 1798 and 1799 he resided at Eutin, near Lubeck, where he wrote a military journal published at Hamburgh, called *Precis des Evenemens Militaires*, which contained some very able and judicious observations on the campaign of 1799, in Italy, Germany, and Holland. This work shews that Dumas possesses, at least, great theoretical knowledge in the modern art of war; that he is a man who, for a long time, has made military transactions his only study; that he has genius to penetrate, and capacity to explain the labyrinth of modern tactics, evolutions, sieges, and encampments; and, that in his narratives and descriptions, he is minute without tediousness, and comprehensive without confusion. The impartiality that pervaded most of the numbers of this periodical work

work made it very popular at its publication, makes it very valuable to present historians, and will serve as a model for future writers of military annals or memoirs. The last number alone, concerning Buonaparte's campaigns in Egypt, afflicts all loyal men, because its contents clearly prove that it came from an ambitious and base exile, flattering a tyrant in power, as a price for his notice or protection; it was at the expence of truth and honour, a petition for the favour of an usurper, and a claim for advancement under a military despot. Dumas, as well as all other constitutional rebels, who, in the name of liberty, had betrayed their King as subjects, and violated their duty as citizens, is mean enough to content himself with speculating upon happiness and freedom, while enduring the abject bondage of a Corsican adventurer, after having, as a free subject, revolted against his lawful King.

In January 1800, Dumas was recalled from his exile, and soon after made a Counsellor of State in the war section. In the autumn of the same year, he was appointed chief of the staff of the French army in Switzerland. The peace of Luneville, in February 1801, caused him to resume his former occupation in the

Council

Council of State, *where all his plans and contrivances have been to injure England, and to plot and prepare its destruction.* This is, no doubt, the reason why Buonaparte has trusted him with the present command.*

Dumas has never hitherto, either in America or in Switzerland, distinguished himself as an officer, much less as a general. His best friends say, that he has not talents to command a battalion, although he has abilities to describe correctly and ably whole campaigns. Dumas is an intriguer and ambitious. He is at present fawning upon Buonaparte, as he was in 1790 upon the despicable La Fayette; and would do the same to a Bourbon, should ever a Bourbon admit him into his counsels, or his army. He has an active mind, which wants employment; but is not influenced either by honour or delicacy as to the means of obtaining occupation, or as to the men who employ him.

General Dumas is past sixty, rather short and corpulent, and has naturally a strong constitution, which, however, his excesses have somewhat impaired.

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Germinal an ix. No. 14. page 3.

DUFOUR.

Dufour, a general of division in the army under the command of Soult, at St. Omer, was, before the Revolution, a trumpeter in the dragoon regiment of Schomberg. Being arrested on suspicion of having robbed one of his officers, he deserted, went to Paris, and there became a fashionable patriot and a furious jacobin.* He continued, however, to remain in a subaltern capacity, although protected by Marat, until 1793, when a revolutionary army was decreed, in which he, together with his friend the ambassador General Brune, obtained the rank of colonel. With this army, composed of Septembrizers, and other banditti, he murdered and plundered at Lyons and in La Vendée; and was therefore, on the recommendation of Carrier and Fouché de Nantes (the national representatives and assassins in the western departments), advanced, by Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety, to the rank of general; and as such, in 1794, with twenty thousand republicans (of whom

* See Le Dictionnaire des Jacobins, and Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 32.

whom he lost four thousand), he attacked and defeated at the Boccage, Charette, who had only five thousand royalists under his command. After this *noble* victory, he conducted himself in the most barbarous manner, sparing neither sex nor age. He burnt, in two days, seven villages, and sent two hundred and six women and children to Carrier, at Nantes, to be drowned. Sixteen old men, whose infirmities and age prevented them from escaping his rage, were burnt alive in their own houses.* After the death of Robespierre, he was decreed to be arrested by the national Convention, as an accomplice with Carrier; but he escaped imprisonment by concealing himself, and not appearing until the conventional amnesty permitted him to do so with safety. In the autumn of 1795, Carnot employed him as a spy on General Pichegru, in the army of the Rhine; and he was, in an engagement with the Austrians, taken prisoner. Exchanged in 1796, and made a commander at Huningen, he there first defended, and afterwards surrendered the Tete du Pont to the Imperialists.

In 1798, he went with his staff to the neighbouring city of Basle, to pay a visit to Mengaud,

* See Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 33.

gaud, the present police commissary at Calais, who was then the directorial emissary in Switzerland; and at his instalment, harangued him in the following revolutionary jargon: "Citizen Mengaud, the Executive Directory, by appointing thee *chargé d'affaires*, were convinced of thy civism, and we applaud their choice. Banish from *thy diplomacy* that horrid policy, that subtlety, of the cabinets of kings: *frankness, honesty, and generosity, are the qualities of the great nation thou representest.*" He then talked of thunder and lightning, and of the tri-coloured standard, Mengaud, grateful, and not behind-hand in sublimity, replied with a ridiculous solemnity: "Thou hast said it, Dufour; the Directory, in calling me to the *honourable and delicate post of their representative*, thought they recognized in me a thorough-bred civism. In asking the fraternal embrace of thee, and the general officers at Huningen, I *provoke* on my part and on theirs, the strictest scrutiny of my conduct." Mengaud was, at this time, plotting the ruin of Switzerland, and Dufour was in the secret!!! This republican duplicity and *balderdash*, of Dufour and Mengaud, should

should not be forgotten; it is the farce of revolutionary tragedy.*

After Buonaparte had usurped the supreme power in France, the liberty and equality man, Dufour, became a consular aristocrat and a Corsican slave. In December 1799, he, in an address to the staff and garrison at Huningen, spoke with *contempt of the sovereignty of the people, and of the equality and fraternity between citizens of a republic, extensive and populous as France.* He called Robespierre *a fool and a tyrant,* and the Directors *ignorant and oppressive despots,* whom *patriotism* had caused him to obey, and *the love of his country* to serve. He styled Buonaparte the Envoy of Heaven, the restorer of liberty, and the scourge of the mercantile slaves of modern Carthage, who scatter away their gold in Europe, to forge iron fetters for the universe. This is the same Citizen Dufour, who, in 1793, acknowledged "no other *Divinity,* than *Reason*—and no *saint,* but *Saint Marat*;" and who, in 1794, called "*Robespierre* the *Republican Moses,* carrying and shewing *free* and *happy* Frenchmen to the true Canaan, the real land of promise, France (regenerated and created by him a republic

* See the Helvetian Revolutionary Almanack for 1799, page 75.

a republic of liberty and equality), where Nature has found again its long lost right, and where the *sans culotte* fraternizes with the aristocrat.*"

The manners of this Corsican general are as vulgar as his language is ridiculous and contemptible. With an inhuman character, only surpassed by a more unfeeling heart, he commits crimes, extorts plunder, and boasts of his infamy, without sense enough to see the horror and disgust that he inspires. He is exactly the fit man—the mean the abominable votary that Buonaparte wants. *As long as he is sure of a place*, he will obey his orders implicitly—he will *poison* his army, *burn* cities, *ruin*, *enslave*, or *annihilate* nations, with the same *sang froid* and *indifference* as the Corsican commands it.

ST. HILAIRE.

St. Hilaire, who commands as general of divison under Soult, was born a nobleman, and, before the Revolution, had the rank of lieutenant of a regiment of hussars. On the 10th of November, 1791, he commanded the detachment

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Floreal year ix. No. vi. page 9.

detachment which, some leagues from Avignon, made prisoners the notorious Jourdan the cut-throat *(coupe-tête)*, so called from his cutting off the heads of numbers of persons, in 1789, at Paris and at Versailles. When all loyal officers resigned their commissions, on refusing to take the national oaths, and to become accomplices with traitors and atheists, St. Hilaire took the oaths, and was advanced to the rank of colonel. In 1793, he served under General Dugommier, before Toulon; and, in 1794, with his regiment, joined the French army in Spain, when he was made general of brigade, and, as such, in 1795, employed under general Scherer, in the army of the Alps; where, in April, he distinguished himself in an engagement before Final, and was wounded. On the 4th of August, the same year, he assisted General Guieux to defeat the combined troops of Austria and Sardinia, near Gavardo, and was on the field of battle created general of division. Disgraced by the Directory in 1797, and suspected of opinions similar to those of General Pichegru, Willot, and other loyal men, he was for some time obliged to conceal himself, to avoid their fate.* In 1800,

* Anecdotes Historiques sur le 18 Fructidor, chez Darte, Lyons, an vii. page 49.

1800, Buonaparte appointed him commander at Marseilles, where he conducted himself more as a weak than a moderate man; more as an ambitious jacobin than as a disinterested citizen. The most numerous and most respectable inhabitants of Marseilles are anti-jacobins; but all Buonaparte's civil authorities there are composed of men who are avowed jacobins and terrorists. St. Hilaire, in wishing to please both the citizens and their tyrants, displeased and offended them all; and their united complaints caused him to be removed from his place. He has since passed his time at Paris, courting the looks of the usurper, and fawning at his levées, routs, and parades. Like other military men to whom the Corsican gives any command, he is servile and intriguing, a base flatterer, but an ambitious schemer; vain enough to think himself a man of consequence; but not of judgment enough to see that consequence, derived from guilt, is nothing but infamy. Like other degraded noblemen who have joined in the Revolution, and fought the battles of regicides and rebels, he had neither any property so lose, nor any character to preserve; for he parted with both previous

to

to 1789 at the gambling-tables in the city of Lyons.*

St. Hilaire is past forty, with a constitution impaired by the debaucheries of cities more than by the fatigues of camps.

LOISON.

Loison, the third in command in the army of England, under General Soult, was, previous to the Revolution, a private in the French guards. He was among the first of those, in that disgraced regiment, who, seduced by the emissaries of the Orleans faction, deserted their king, and joined the standard of revolt. He is a man of natural parts, but of no education; yet is, like most of his countrymen, vain and presumptuous. He had not been three months a rebel, before he aspired to promotion. At the forming of the national guards at Paris, he tormented La Fayette to be nominated an officer; but, as he could neither write nor read, he was refused, and, in revenge, became his enemy and accuser at the jacobin club, where he

* Les Nobles revoltés tels qu'ils sont, chez Le Normant, Paris, 1792, page 110.

he made his own resentment of neglect a proof of La Fayette's aristocracy and intended high treason against the sovereign people.*

On the 10th of August, 1792, he was one of the leaders of the rabble who attacked the castle of the Thuilleries, and was heard to call out "*No quarter!—kill—kill—all the Capets—all the aristocrats, and all the Swiss soldiers!*"—He, with fifty associates, attacked four Swiss soldiers; who, determined to sell their lives dearly, killed and wounded many of their cruel and cowardly assailants. Among others, Loison received a wound with a bayonet in his side, which confined him in an hospital for seven months. During this period, he had sense enough to take an instructor to teach him to read and write. When he recovered from his wound, he obtained from his accomplices, Marat, Danton, and Robespierre, the rank of commander of a battalion of national guards, and was sent to serve in the army of Ardennes, where his speeches and motions at the jacobin club, and not his valour or manœuvres in the field, occasioned his being promoted to the rank of general of brigade.†

In

* See La Gazette de Paris of July 20, 1792.

† See Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 193.

In September 1795, when the expiring regicide convention desired to continue its tyrannical power, by having two thirds of its members elected into the Councils of Ancients and of Five Hundred, all loyal men, with the Parisian sections, opposed such an encroachment on their rights and liberties; and it had great difficulty to find any generals traitorous or base enough to defend its cause. Upwards of forty of the first and best military characters had already declined it—when the infamous Barras dragged forward from their obscurity Buonaparte, Loison, Brune, and others, who *bravely* assisted him, on the 14th of Vendemiaire, year 3, (5th of October) 1795, to butcher eight thousand men, women, and children, in the streets of Paris.

Barras and the National Convention were so well satisfied with Loison's *civic* transactions on that day, that he was nominated president of the military council, and tribunal at St. Roch, charged to try those patriots who had escaped his bayonets and Buonaparte's cannon. In this *honourable* place, he enforced and executed, with all the rigour of a jacobin terrorist, the revolutionary laws of the barbarous French Republic; and if, by concealment or emigration,

most of the marked and devoted victims of his and the conventional fury avoided the guillotine, it was no fault of his—because no person was accused at his tribunal, whom he did not condemn to death or to deportation.*

Buonaparte and Loison, having thus made their acquaintance at this *fraternal* banquet—inundated by them with the blood of virtue, patriotism, and innocence—were united by the strong ties of their common crimes, and of their common danger; but both had the same claims to Barras' *bonne amie*, Madame Beauharnois, held out by him as a reward for past guilt, and as an engagement for the continuance of future wickedness.† This, and Loison's incapacity, caused Buonaparte to decline Carnot's offer of giving this general a command in the army of Italy: he, however, procured him an advantageous place in Holland; where he had only citizens to oppress, property to plunder, and no enemy to combat. During eighteen months stay in that unfortunate country, Loison, by bribes, requisitions, forced loans, and military contributions, made

* See La Quotidienne, Mars 8, 1797, and Le Dictionnaire Biographique, art Loison.

† See La Quotidienne, Mars 8, 1797.

made a fortune of one hundred thousand ducats. Recalled by the Directory, he went to Paris, bought an hotel, divorced his wife, kept his mistress, frequented gambling-houses; and in nine months became, for a second time, a sans culotte.* In this situation he was when Buonaparte returned from Egypt; who, having determined to dethrone the Directory, and to usurp its place, engaged Loison, with other idle or ruined generals, to assist and accompany him to St. Cloud; where, on the 9th of November, 1799, regicide Directors were forced to resign their authority to rebel Consuls.

In 1800, Buonaparte sent Loison to organise a division of the army of reserve assembled at Dijon; but at the battle of Marengo he either wanted talents or opportunity to distinguish himself. To get rid of him, Buonaparte, in 1801, wished him to embark with a division in the army under Le Clerc, for St. Domingo; but this favour he declined. He has since been employed in the household troops, in the army of the interior, and in Italy, and is, no doubt, at present, *destined to be one of Buonaparte's forlorn hope* in his rash attempt upon this country.

* See La Quotidienne, Mars 8, 1797.

Loison is near forty years of age, of awkward manners and ridiculous behaviour. As ignorance is often talkative, he speaks upon all subjects with an effrontery which would offend were it not too contemptible. He is a brave soldier, but an indifferent commander. Careless of his own life, he throws away the lives of others with such a cruel profusion, that it has shocked even republican, or rather Corsican generals, who themselves set so little value upon the lives of their soldiers.*

VAN DAMME.

Van Damme is the son of a barber at Cassel; and, in 1787, engaged himself as a common soldier in the regiment of Flanders. In 1788 he was convicted of robbery and house-breaking, and was condemned to be hanged; but, by the ill-timed humanity of Baron L'Anglois, a judge at Cassel, the sentence was changed into ten years slavery in the gallies, after being marked with a hot iron on his shoulders by the public executioner.† In 1790 Van Damme

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Thermidor year xi. No. 4, p. 12.

† See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 348, and Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 264, &c.

Damme escaped from the galleys, and became, of course, a *famous jacobin* and a *great patriot*. In 1793 he was, by Robespierre, promoted to the rank of a general. During the campaigns of 1793 and 1794, he commanded in Maritime Flanders, where he murdered and plundered friends as well as foes. With his own hand he shot an emigrant brought to him a prisoner at Furnes, and appropriated to himself the property of this emigrant's sister near Dunkirk.* It was in October 1793, that he, for the first time, seized upon Furnes, and blockaded Nieuport; but at the approach of the Allied Powers he was forced to retreat with the loss of his artillery and ammunition. During this retreat he laid waste the country every where, and gave up Furnes to pillage; and when the magistrates ventured to make any representations, he answered, with a ferocious smile, *I came here only to bring you misery and death, not to hear any complaints. Soldiers, do your duty; pille, ravis, et tue qui peut.* After repeated complaints from the Flemings, he was ordered to give an account

* See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 348, and Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 264, &c. with Anecdotes of the Campaigns in Flanders. Paris 1795, page 60.

of his conduct, and to appear before the Committee of Public Safety at Paris.*

Baron L'Anglois was one of the richest men in the country of Flanders, humane and generous, and near 80 years of age. Van Damme owed to him his life in 1788, and in return, in 1793, he arrested him as suspected, and sent him to Paris; he forwarded also a letter to his worthy friend and countryman Duhem,† a deputy of the National Convention, in which he described him as *good game for the guillotine.* Such was, however, Baron L'Anglois' innocence, that even Robespierre permitted him to remain at large, under the inspection of a *gens d'armes* at Paris.

In the summer of 1794, Van Damme arrived at Paris, and was provided with so many *bloody* and *weighty* arguments, that he was soon declared by the Committee of Public Safety to be a true sans-culotte, without crime and without reproach, and the command in Flanders was restored to him. The day before he left Paris, Baron L'Anglois had the misfortune.

* Anecdotes of the Campaigns in Flanders. Paris 1795, p. 61.

† Duhem, one of Robespierre's generals and accomplices, is at present the favourite, the accomplice, and general of Bonaparte, and his governor at Lyons.

tune to meet him in one of the streets, and received from him the fraternal and liberal assurance, *that he had not forty-eight hours to live;* and, in fact, before thirty-six hours, Baron L'Anglois was no more! On his return to his country, Van Damme bought the greatest part of the Baron's property, which he yet possesses.*

All other generals, officers, and soldiers of the army of the North had refused to obey the decree of the National Convention, for giving no quarter to the English and Hanoverians: Van Damme *alone*, to encourage his soldiers to become assassins, killed, before Nieuport, in cold blood, an Hanoverian officer who was his prisoner.†

After the death of Robespierre, Van Damme, with several other assassins, plunderers, and terrorists, were put under arrest; but in a short time, by the amnesty of the National Convention, he recovered his liberty; he remained, however, in a kind of revolutionary disgrace, without employment, but enjoying with security the fruits of his former crimes. He now occupied himself in meditating new

 plots,

* See Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 263.

† See Les Campagnes de Pichegru, chez Favre, 1796, page 496.

plots, and in squandering away in debaucheries a part of his great fortune: by his ostentation and luxury he hoped to silence public clamours, and by inebriety to soothe the remorse of conscience; he often treated those who always despised him; and he sometimes paid and protected the then persecuted and proscribed clergymen, for receiving his confession, and giving their absolution; but an instant after he denounced and sent them as fanatics to be transported to Cayenne by the Directory. He was fantastical as the ignorant, superstitious as the weak, tormented as the guilty, and cruel as a military and revolutionary upstart.*

The revolution in favour of the jacobins, of the 4th of September, 1797, put him again into activity, and procured him a command under General Jourdan, and he shared his defeats in April and May, 1799. During the campaign in the spring of 1800, he commanded a division under General Moreau. When in Suabia, he ordered the war commissary of his division, Pommier, to put into requisition several hundred heads of cattle, and afterwards to accept in

* See Le Passe tems des Terroristes, chez Delandine. Lyons 1797, page 36.

in cash half their value from the inhabitants: for this transaction Pommier was shot, and Van Damme sent by Moreau, in disgrace, to the rear of the army.*

After the peace of Luneville, when the fear, jealousy, and guilt of Buonaparte, pointed out the policy of alienating from Moreau all the generals who had served under him, and of attaching them to himself by bribes, places, and impunity, he made Van Damme governor of Lille. Such was, however, the good opinion the Flemings had of Buonaparte, that they imagined he promoted Van Damme to this place as a punishment, knowing how much he was detested every where in and near his own country (Lille being only twenty miles from Cassel): they were, however, mistaken; Van Damme is become one of Buonaparte's favourites, by becoming his spy; and the places, the property, and the liberty of the inhabitants in that part of France, are entirely dependant upon the good will and reports of Van Damme, with whom money *alone* constitutes ability; meanness, merit; and guilt, patriotism.†

* See Moreau's official report in the Moniteur, July 1800.

† See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Floreal, an. x. No. 6, page 9.

Van Damme's address to his soldiers, and his correspondence with the generals of the enemy, in 1793 and 1794, were printed in the *Gazette de Leyde*, as disgusting examples of the revolutionary vandalism. In a letter addressed to Citizen Orang, (the young prince of Orange) in December, 1793, he begins with *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, or Death:* it was signed Van Damme, general of the sans-culottes.

This general of the sans-culottes is at present one of the greatest Corsican aristocrats: his manner of living, his suite and equipage, surpass even the most extravagant of the king's former governors: with the education of a barber, and the capacity of a grenadier, he is vain, proud, insolent, and despotic. Nothing proves more strongly the debased character of Frenchmen, or how much Buonaparte despises his *French* slaves, than their submission with patience to any infamous man whom they abhor, and Buonaparte's appointment of such a governor, knowing his infamy, and their just abhorrence of him.

With the exception only of some young generals, lately promoted by Buonaparte, all his military favourites are of the same charac-

ter, have committed similar crimes and pursued the same conduct as Van Damme; their former guilt answers for their present fidelity, and their past tyranny for their ready slavery; all loyal officers, who have nothing to fear from the return of order and monarchy, are either murdered, as Pichegru; exiled, as Moreau; suspected, as Massena; or disgraced, as Macdonald.*

AUGEREAU.

Augereau, the commander in chief of the army against Ireland, was born at Paris in 1749, and is the bastard son of a fruit-woman, who afterwards married a petty green-grocer of the name of Augereau. At an early age he was inscribed upon the registers of the police as one of its spies; but in 1769, having robbed of

* The particulars concerning this *republican* general are found in Les Annales du Terrorisme, in Dictionnaire Biographique, and in a phamphlet called La Denonciation des Flamands. The author has been a prisoner with the son of Baron L'Anglois, who has confirmed all the particulars related here concerning Van Damme's atrocities, who, in 1800, denounced this son of his victim, and caused him to be sent to the temple as a conspirator.

of his purse a person whom he had arrested, he was forced by the lieutenant of police at Paris, to enlist in a corps called Legion de Corse, composed of desperate vagabonds, like himself, whom the police as a punishment for their crimes and vices, sent to combat the Corsican patriots, who resisted the French plots and the French arms employed to conquer their country. The officers of this corps where adventurers of the same characters as their soldiers, with this only difference, that they were degraded noblemen, or dishonoured gentlemen, while their men were common robbers, thieves, forgers, or assassins. The famous, or rather infamous Count de Mirabeau, was an officer in this corps.*

In 1772, Augereau deserted from Toulon, where he was in garison, went to Lombardy, and enlisted in the Austrian regiment of Stuart; from which, in 1774, he again attempted to desert, but was overtaken and received two hundred lashes as a chastisement. In 1778, when a war was on the eve of breaking out between Austria and Prussia, on account of the Bavarian Succession, Augereau marched with his regiment to Bohemia, where he found an opportunity

* Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 155.

opportunity to desert over to the Prussians in Silesia, and to become a soldier in the regiment of Kleist, but from which he escaped in 1782. He then went back to Paris, where, being accused of having broken open a jeweller's shop, the police a second time laid hold of him, and he was confined for two years to hard labour in the house of correction, called Bicetre.* In 1785 he went as servant with a Swiss officer Baron de Salis, to Switzerland, married there the daughter of a shoemaker, and resided at Neuchatel as a fencing-master. In the spring 1786, under pretence of having an invitation to be present at the wedding of a relation some leagues from Neuchatel, he borrowed a horse and two watches from a wholesale watch manufacturer of the name of Courvoisier, with which he left Switzerland and his wife, and went to Italy. In September 1800, when Augereau, as a republican commander in chief, had his head-quarters at Frankfort upon the Main, Courvoisier, who was at the fair, called upon him and was admitted with the greatest pomp and pride, in the presence of all his generals

* See the last mentioned work, page 156, and La Liste des Propagateurs Revolutionaires, Etranger et François. Palermo, 1800. Page 18 & 19.

generals and officers, and solemnly invited to dine with him. At the table Courvoisier was placed on Augereau's right hand, above all the German princes and noblemen, who dishonoured themselves by fawning in the anti-chambers, at the levees, or at the table of this shameless upstart. This was the *only value* that Courvoisier obtained for a stolen horse, and two swindled watches.*

In May 1786, Augereau engaged himself as a common soldier in the Neapolitan regiment of Epirots, where, in a short time, his address as a fencing-master procured him many pupils, and money enough to pay for his discharge. In 1787, he settled in the capital of the two Sicilies, and, by his cunning and impudence, insinuated himself as a teacher into many noble and rich families of that city. When, in 1789, Mirabeau, La Feyette, and their accomplices, established their revolutionary propaganda, their emissaries at Naples picked up Augereau as a fit instrument for their designs in Italy; and until 1792, when he was, with the rest of his countrymen, banished from Italy, he served in that country, in the twofold capacity of a propagator for the republican

* This anecdote the author had from a respectable countryman of Mr. Courvoisier, who himself afterwards confirmed its authenticity. At Neuchatel it is known to every body.

lican jacobins, and as a spy for the revolutionary ministers of France. Most of the rebellious Neapolitan noblemen who revolted against their King in 1798, and who were deservedly punished in 1799, had been Augereau's pupils, or seduced by his Gallic and jacobinical sophistry.*

At his return among his revolted countrymen, Augereau joined, as a volunteer, the army collecting under General Anselm, and destined to invade the county of Nice. In France, at that period, to get rank and promotion, nothing was required but to be a constant declaimer against kings and priests; to be an active visitor of clubs; to denounce every man of property as an aristocrat, and every man of any religion as a fanatic; to imprison in the name of liberty; to plunder in the name of equality; and to murder in the name of fraternity. Augereau, therefore, soon came to be a republican general, and was, as such, employed during the year 1794 in the army of the Pyrenées, where he was remarked for audacity more than for abilities, particularly at the skirmish near Figueres; and in May 1795, he

*See La Liste des Propagateurs Revolutionaires, &c. pag. 16.

he contributed much to the fortunate termination of the battle fought with the Spaniards near the river Flavia.

While French intrigues had been as successful as French arms, and Spanish ministers disgraced a Bourbon in Spain, by an humiliating peace and alliance with the regicide assassins of a Bourbon in France, the army of the Pyrenées was united with the army of the Alps, and Augereau accompanied this army to Italy. With the division under his command, after a forced march of two days, he, on the 10th of April, 1796, carried the defiles of Millesimo; and having, by this operation, joined the Generals Menard and Joubert, he drove the enemy from all the surrounding positions; and, by the promptitude of his manœuvres, he completely hemmed in a division of the Austrians, under the command of General Proveyra. On the 15th of the same month, at the engagement by Dego, he occupied the redoubts of Montezemo, and facilitated the junction with General Serrurier. The next day he left this position, and attacked and carried the entrenched camp at Ceva, defended by the troops of the King of Sardinia. On the 26th he took Alba; and on the 27th of May, Casale. On the

the 16th of June he passed the river Po, at Borgoforte, and arrived at Bologna on the 19th, where he had but little trouble in taking prisoners the unprepared four hundred soldiers of the Pope, the governor, the Cardinal Legate, and his staff. He here visited, as from religious motives, all the convents and churches, received the blessings of priests and friars for his promised protection; but, in the night following, stripped all their churches of their pictures and riches, and all the saints of their treasures and ornaments. Of these he appropriated to himself the greatest part: he was seen publicly the next day with some jewels, which devotion had given, and which some hours before decorated the statue of the Virgin Mary.* In the name of the Great Nation, and *under pain of death*, he ordered every thing that the city contained, private as well as public property, to be ready at a moment's warning, for his disposal. He set his soldiers an example of indecency, plunder, and debauchery. The sacredness of innocence, protected by their vows to God, and their renunciation of the world, was violated by him in the most scandalous manner. He, for one night,

* Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie, pag. 28.

night, put sixteen young nuns into requisition for himself and his staff: the tears of youth, the pangs of concience, and the prayers of virtue, availed nothing; they were, by a drunken soldiery, carried away, almost lifeless, from the retreat and cells of religion, to the infamous beds of vice; to endure the horrid and disgusting embraces of cruel crime in power. Four of these devoted victims to the lust of republicans afterwards destroyed themselves; six lost their reason; and the other six their health.*

These, and other abominations, exited in Italy an universal detestation of Frenchmen and French principles, and brought on many partial insurrections. In July 1796, the inhabitants of the town of Lugo rose against their French tyrants; and Augereau went thither to *re-establish order*. With his numerous armed banditti he soon dispersed some few disarmed citizens, and defenceless women and children. "To inspire the Italians with terror of French republican *justice*," he gave up the town to pillage for three hours; and widows were violated by the side of their murdered husbands, and virgins ravished between the butchered

* See Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 159, and Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie, page 29.

butchered and mutilated carcases of their fathers and brothers. To finish this *scene of true French fraternity*, the principal church was ordered to be cleared; and at night all females above ten, and under forty, were ordered, *under pain of death, to present themselves* NAKED *at a civic feast given by Augereau* in this church. The inhuman and sacrilegious abominations which took place that night, are described in a work printed at Verona in 1799, and called "Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie;" but they are too disgusting and too shocking to be related to English readers. It is, however, proper to observe, that if Augereau committed, and permitted his soldiers to commit these cruelties, his commander in chief, Buonaparte, approved of them; and he advanced in the good graces of the Corsican conqueror of Italy, in proportion as his conduct was barbarous towards the Italians.*

After this *abridged* account of *only a small* part of the conduct and transactions of *regenerated* Frenchmen, under the guidance of Buonaparte, Augereau, and other jacobins; of their hearts, heads, and characters—an extract from

* See Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 159, and Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie, page 31.

from the address of Buonaparte to the people of Italy, dated Mondovi, April 23, 1796, will prove a curious monument of political hypocrisy and deception, of military imposture and impudence: he says, "Nations of Italy, the army approaches *on purpose to burst your fetters!* FREE France is the *friend* of every people: approach our standards with confidence. *Your religion, your property,* and *your customs,* shall all be *respected.* We will carry on the war like *generous enemies;* for we have no dispute but with the tyrants who keep you in servitude. *We are the liberators, and not the scourges, of enfranchised nations.*" Such was the language, such were the promises of the Corsican; but cities, towns, and villages in ruins, and their plundered, beggared, enslaved, or murdered inhabitants, are undeniable and convincing evidences of his sincerity.

Having finished his *brilliant* exploits at Bologna and Lugo, Augereau, in the beginning of August, retook his former position in the centre of the army, where he contributed to extricate Massena, who for some time had been in a very critical situation, and he seized upon Castiglione. Some days after, he obtained a new victory over the enemy, although protected by

by the castle of Scagnello; he afterwards, on the 25th of August, passed the Adige, and repulsed the weakened Austrians as far as Roveredo. He left Verona on the 4th of September, and marched to the right of the army, to keep in awe a corps posted at Bassano.—On the 6th he found himself at Borgo di Valdi Sugana; where his advanced guard, commanded by general Lanusse, carried Primolan the next day, while he took possession of the fort Cavello, which had been evacuated by the enemy. Having quitted Padua on the 10th, he directed his march towards Porto Legnago, while Massena, who had left Vincenza at the same time, advanced by the side of Villa Nova; insomuch that the Imperial General Wurmser, finding himself nearly surrounded, with only five thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry under his command, was forced, although with great difficulty, to cut a passage through the numerous French corps, before he could join his countrymen at Mantua. On the 11th Augereau invested Porto Legnago, and bribing its cowardly commander, entered it the same day by capitulation. Conjointly with General Sahuget, he, on the 15th, seized upon Fort St. George, near Mantua, occupied the *tête du pont*

pont La Favorite, and made several prisoners. He again distinguished himself on the 7th November, when, having learned that the enemy had passed the Brenta at Bassano, as if with intent to march towards the bridge of Lisiera, he went to meet them, and, after a long and bloody contest, repulsed them to the gates of Bassano.*

In February 1797 he was sent to Paris, charged to present to the Directory the standards and trophies taken from the Austrians during the several engagements before the surrender of Mantua. His dress, behaviour, speeches, and pretensions, during his short stay at Paris, were the common topics of conversation, of criticism, of ridicule, and of disgust. With the grossest vulgarity of manners, he united the most extravagant and ostentatious dress, decorating his person with diamonds, rings, and jewels; and while using the language of a low *sans culotte*, he claimed not only the greatest attention, but the respect and admiration of all persons whom he *honoured* with a relation "of what he had done, of what he *alone* had done." His presumption, vanity, and

* In relating Augereau's military achievements, a work called The History of the Campaign in 1796 has chiefly been consulted.

and boasts, deprived every other commander of all merit; and, if he were believed, "it was to him *alone* that France and Buonaparte were indebted for the conquest of Italy:" *his head in the council, as well as his arm in the field, had procured the Corsican all his lustre and renown;* and if "he ever got an army under his own command and disposal, he would take upon himself, *before twelve months, to bring all the emperors, kings, and princes of Europe,* to the levees of the Directory at Luxemburgh, and to the bar of the Council of Ancients, and of Five Hundred, in the Thuilleries.*"

After having exhibited himself with so much modesty, moderation, and advantage, among his countrymen, Augereau returned to join his *worthy* friend Buonaparte, who was advancing with ninety thousand men into Carinthia and Friuli in pursuit of thirty-six thousand Austrians, weakened by continual fatigue, disheartened by repeated defeats, without magazines, tents, pay or cloathing, but with full confidence in their new, useful, and loyal commander, Archduke Charles, whose presence soon restored order, inspired courage, and obtained

* See Carnot's Answer to Bailleul, Dictionnaire Biographique, and Les Nouvelles à la Main, Messidor an vii. No. iii. page 9.

tained success; though finally made useless, not by the valour of the French commander, but by his intrigues, which brought about the peace of Leoben.

While Buonaparte was signing this peace with Austria, he was planning the destruction of the ancient Republic of Venice; and he fixed upon the modern Gaul and barbarian, Augereau, to annihilate a republic which owed its foundation to the invasion of the Goths under Attila and other barbarians. Seduced by French emissaries, and irritated by French oppression, the inhabitants of *Terra Firma* had risen against the few republican soldiers strolling and plundering in the *neutral* Venetian territory. Forty thousand peasants were in arms; and, but for the impolitic peace just concluded, they might have assisted the Austrians to cut off the retreat of the French army in Carinthia, and have annihilated the troops left behind in that part of Italy.

Augereau, who commanded between the Adige and the Piave, alarmed at the progress of the insurrection, and masking the natural ferocity of his character, published a deceitful proclamation, proposing amnesty and oblivion, and promising redress. This measure was taken,

ken, however, only to gain time, to suspend the activity, and to divide the opinions of the insurgents, until Buonaparte's army could arrive, and butcher them *en masse*, without resistance, when disarmed or dispersed.

In the beginning of May 1797, Buonaparte, when he had collected a part of his army, published a declaration of war against Venice, founded upon the most unjust, absurd, and fabulous allegations; and immediately, *unresisted*, took possession of Terra Firma, where his soldiers lived uncontrolled, and, with his officers, robbed, ravished, and murdered.—While the troops under Buonaparte acted in this inhuman manner upon the Terra Firma, Augereau, with a division of 25,000 men, encamped within sight of the city of Venice, and there, as in all other places where Frenchmen meditated subversion and destruction, French plots and French intrigues had preceded French bayonets; and before it was occupied by French soldiers, it had been undermined, weakened and distracted by French incendiaries. On the 12th of May, Augereau entered the city without opposition; seized upon its arsenal and forts; established a democratical municipality from the very dregs of the people; imprisoned and shot most of its first and best citi-

zens, and pillaged every body who had any thing worth taking. Private, as well as public property was, in the most cruel, infamous, and disgraceful manner, seized by Augereau, his generals, officers, and privates of the army, and their attendant robbers, commissaries, agents, *savans*, and *philosophers*. The rapacious and destructive fury of Augereau and his associates, in eight weeks' time, bereft this ancient, famous, and beautiful city of its liberty and independence; of its treasures, navy, magazines, monuments of the arts, and sientific and literary curiosities, which it had required nearly eight centuries to create, produce, collect, regulate, improve, and establish; and this, Buonaparte and Augereau, in bitter mockery, called the REGENERATION of VENICE. It is in the same way that French republicans have *regenerated*, and *intend to regenerate*, all countries weak or wretched enough not to resist their shameless offers of a bloody fraternity. Not satisfied with these acquisitions, Augereau, by the orders of Buonaparte, laid on military contributions and forced loans to the amount of *ninety millions;* and when these demands were gratified, and public requisitions could be urged no farther, the plunder

plunder of individuals was again licensed, and all sorts of property taken, sequestered, and sold, as avarice or wantonness directed, the passion, the caprice, or the inclination of the spoiler.*

It was after these *patriotic* and *republican* transactions that Augereau complained to Buonaparte of not having yet, notwithstanding all his *great* services, made a fortune of above one hundred thousand crowns, and therefore demanded and obtained the place of President of the military tribunal at Verona, to try all nobles, priests, and other men of property, for instigating, or *not preventing*, the late insurrection of their countrymen.

The jacobins and demagogues have every where extolled the *lenity* and *humanity* of Augereau and the French republicans on this occasion, *for executing only some few hundreds* of several thousands arrested, *accused*, or *suspected;* but a writer already quoted explains the *pure* motives of their *lenity* and *humanity*; and he proves, that if *only some few hundreds* lost their lives, *thousands and thousands* were bereft of their property, and of what makes life supportable. "Augereau had fixed a price

 upon

* See Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie, pag. 692 & 697.

upon the life of every person *suspected*, and appearing before his redoubtable tribunal; *the real or the supposed worth of his possessions was the value demanded for his life.*"—Estates were therefore pawned, mortgaged, or sold: the sacred treasures of churches, of convents, of saints, of orphan houses, hospitals, and religious communities, were disposed of and given up, to pay, as Augereau jocosely said, "*the prices of existence;*" and in six weeks Augereau pocketed six millions; and his *republican justice* and *generosity* condemned no man to death who had the means and mind to pay for an acquittal.

Before Augereau had received this lucrative commission, he had been obliged to give up to his *virtuous* and *disinterested* chief, the one hundred thousand crowns that he possessed; and of the six millions that he made during his *short campaign* at Verona, Buonaparte borrowed two millions more, which Augereau tells every body *he has forgot to repay.**

The French officers of the army in Italy relate a number of anecdotes of Augereau's rapacity and cruelty. Many persons, who had advanced

* See the last-mentioned work, page 634, and the note, Les Nouvelles à la Main, Vendemiaire, an viii. No. v. page 2.

advanced a part of their *price of existence*, were acquitted, but detained until they paid the remainder. The last two days before Augereau's commission expired, those who, from want of time or resources, had been unable to procure the remainder of the money required, were tried again, and shot *en masse*; and they lost their lives with the cruel reproach of having in vain ruined their families to preserve them, because Augereau never returned a sixpence of the sums that he had extorted; and any body complaining was arrested as an accomplice, and shot as a conspirator.*

One of Augereau's mistresses is seen in the *first* societies at Paris, and at the court of the First Consul, with a diamond cross, worth ten thousand Louis d'ors, which formerly belonged to a Madona at Padua, and paid for by the acquittal of six priests of the cathedral in that city; and Augereau wears a sword, of which the handle is set with the same diamonds and jewels that formerly decorated the cross of a Christ in the church of San Marc, at Venice. These, and other particulars of the same sort, could not have been known, if Augereau had not

* See Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie, page 635.

not had the barefaced impudence to relate them, to boast of, and laugh at them himself.*

While Buonaparte, Augereau, and other revolutionary generals, where thus "the vagrant butchers of mankind," and employed in ruining the inhabitants of foreign countries, the republican directory in France occupied itself in preparing the slavery, proscription, or death of all loyal men at home, who opposed their usurped tyranny. A *citizen* of Augereau's unfeeling character, and so devoted to the perpetration of crimes, was therefore not left unnoticed. According to his instructions, he procured, or rather commanded, unconstitutional addresses from the officers and soldiers of his division in the army of Italy, vowing vengeance and destruction against every man who dared to *print*, *say*, or *think*, that Barras was a regicide assassin, Buonaparte his accomplice, and, with the two insolent and ignorant regicide directors, Rewbell and La Reveilliere, stained with the blood of their King, as well as with that of their countrymen. In reward for this, when the plan of a new revolution was ripe for execution, Augereau was appointed the commander at Paris, and of the army of the

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Thermidor, an xi. No. vi. p. 10.

the interior. In the morning of the 4th of September, 1797, accompanied by a numerous army, he invested the Thuilleries, and with a base and cowardly brutality, attacked, ill-treated, insulted, and arrested those unarmed representatives of the French people, who had shewn both courage and patriotism in defending the liberty, honour, and rights of their fellow-citizens, so often invaded and threatened by the vile republican rulers over degraded republican France. The ostentatious Augereau was on this day attended by a staff of nearly four hundred officers, all notorious men of blood, as Santerre, Tunk, Yon, Rossignol, and others of the same description; and under this escort the national deputies were carried in chains to the Temple Bastile. He appointed governor over this *republican state prison*, another *republican*, General Dutertre, *who a month before had escaped* from *the gallies at Toulon*, where he had been confined under sentence of a court-martial *for robbery, assassination, and setting fire to the houses* of the wretched inhabitants of La Vendée. The inhumanity of this man did not defeat the expectations of Augereau; the accused prisoners were strictly watched, and more insulted and

tormented than if they had been the most guilty of all criminals: they were prevented from all communication with their relations, parents, and friends; and by the sequestration of their property, they were disabled from procuring the most common necessaries for the voyage that they were doomed to make.*

On the day of their departure from Paris, *after having been condemned to transportation without any trial*, Augereau called them over, and, as a guard, conducted them to the carriages that were waiting for them. They passed across a line of soldiers, mostly composed of Septembrizers, and other assassins, instructed to maltreat them, in order to provoke them, and thus to have some cause for dispatching them; but when Augereau observed their tranquillity, he could not contain his rage, which he suffered to break forth in a manner that deserves to be recorded.

Le Tellier, servant to the director Barthelemy, one of the prisoners, came running up as they were stepping into the carriages, with an order from the Directory to accompany his master. He delivered it to Augereau, who having

* See Ramel's Narrative of his own, Pichegru's, &c. transportation to Cayenne. It was translated into English in 1799.

having read it, said—"You are determined, then, to share the fate of these men, *who are lost for ever.* Whatever event awaits them, *be assured they will never return.*"—"My mind is made up," answered Le Tellier; "I shall be but too happy to share the misfortunes of my master."—"Well then," replied Augereau, "*go, fanatic, and perish with him*;" at the same time adding, "Soldiers, let this man be watched as closely as those miscreants." The barbarity of the republican commander, and the generous affection of a French servant, deserve both to be recorded and remembered; as they prove that, in modern republics, where and while audacious crime rules, virtue is often in fetters, and at all times neglected.

The carriages in which Augereau ordered the prisoners to be seated, without regard to their ill health, weakness, age, or infirmities, were placed upon four-wheeled waggons, nearly resembling gun-carriages. They were a kind of cage, secured on all their four sides with bars of iron, breast high, which bruised the prisoners with the least shake or jolt.—There were four in each carriage, beside the guard, who carried the key of the padlock

that fastened the iron grating by which they entered; and when once locked up in the morning, it was never opened before night, whatever the sufferings or natural wants of the prisoners might be. In these cages, the loyal Generals Pichegru and Willot, the present Corsican Senator Barthelemy, the consular minister Marbois, with twelve other victims of the atrocious *justice* of French republicans, travelled from Paris to Rochfort, upwards of five hundred miles.*

Having thus served the vile purposes of the Directory with so much satisfaction to their feelings, Augereau intrigued to become one of their members; but he was, by Barras, forced to content himself with the command over the army of the Rhine, and to succeed General Moreau, who was dismissed in disgrace without any reason, while General Pichegru was sent into exile without any trial. Such was the republican gratitude of the Great Nation toward its two greatest generals and best citizens, to whom it is indebted, not only for all its aggrandizement, but for its existence without a partition.

During

* See Ramel's Narrative of his own, Pichegru's, &c. transportation to Cayenne. It was translated into English in 1799.

During the few months that Augereau occupied his new command, he had no enemy to combat, because the peace of Campo-Formio had been concluded, and the Congress at Rastadt was assembled. His head quarters were near Offenberg, where this vain-glorious and insolent upstart took every opportunity to humiliate the German princes, and to treat with contempt the German negotiators. It was not their complaints, however, that caused him, in a short time, to be removed. He had surrounded himself with all those desperate characters who had lately served under him at Paris; with them he plotted, and threatened the Directory itself, because he had not been chosen a Director. He was, therefore, under pretext of an expedition against Portugal, sent to languish in obscure idleness with the garrisons on the frontiers of Spain; and the Directory never entrusted him with any other command.

In March 1799, Augereau was, by the threats and intrigues of the Jacobins, elected a member in the Council of Five Hundred for the department of Upper Garonne; and when Buonaparte, on the 10th of November following, usurped the throne of the Bourbons, and

deposed

deposed his benefactors, the Directory, Augereau deserted his post in the council, unexpectedly visited the Corsican, and threw himself into his arms, exclaiming—"General, you have not called me to you; but I wait upon you, notwithstanding, with a *true republican cordiality*." For this *disinterested* declaration, Buonaparte nominated him French commander in chief in the Batavian republic.*

The ruling passions of Augereau are avarice, ambition and cruelty. From his first arrival in Holland, he insisted upon greater prerogatives and more honours from the Dutch than had ever been granted to any Stadtholder. In 1793, the Hereditary Prince of Orange, as commander in chief over the army of the States-General, had no more than three thousand florins per month for his table; but Augereau, in 1799, compelled the Batavian government to allow him fifteen thousand florins for the same purpose. The least opposition to his pretensions or extortions he resented brutally; in a way, indeed, becoming the *generous* nation that he represented; but in the highest degree humiliating to the government of

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Ventose, an viii. No. vi. page 6, and Dictionnaire Biographique, art. Augereau.

of an *independent* ally, whom he was sent to assist and to protect. One day, in the presence of his staff, *he kicked two of the Dutch directors out of his room;* and the next day, *publicly caned the War-minister on the parade:* and when the Dutch regiments at the Hague murmured at his brutal behaviour, he sent all the officers of those regiments to prison, and disarmed the soldiers. Some of the former, and several of the latter, were afterwards condemned by him to be shot as mutineers.*

Exhausted as the Dutch had already been by French oppression, plunder, and vexations, Augereau obliged them to send into the field, against Austria, a more numerous army than they had ever furnished at any former period. Some French divisions having been united with the Dutch troops, this was called the *Gallo-Batavian* army, and he acted with it in Franconia during the campaign of 1800; but, although opposing or pursuing an enemy vastly inferior in strength, he neither distinguished himself by any judicious manœuvres, bold

* This brutal and cruel act was mentioned in several of the newspapers of that period, and is recorded in Les Nouvelles à la Main, Pluviose, an ix. No. iv. page 9.

bold attacks, or decisive battles, nor became noted for any brilliant success. By his whole conduct he confirmed the opinion of Carnot, and other competent military judges, "that he is a good grenadier, and a tolerable military partisan, having doubtless capacity to head, or lead on a division; but is totally unfit to command an army as a chief."

During a command of only sixteen months in Holland and Germany, Augereau *gained* two millions of florins, £130,000; and he is said to have at present a fortune, of which the interest alone brings him yearly 800,000 livres.*

For the last two years, until very lately, Augereau had been out of favour with the Corsican, of whom he spoke with great contempt, and who, in his turn, used him with such an insulting neglect, that nobody but a man of Augereau's character, haughty with his inferiors or with the weak, and abject with his superiors or with the powerful, could support, or not revenge.

Many persons in France pretend that he has *bought* his present command over the army assembling between Bourdeaux and Bayonne, the

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Germinal, year xi. No. ii. page 8.

the real destination of which is not known: some thinking it intended to attack Portugal, whilst others would send it to invade Ireland. Berthier, Buonaparte, Moreau, and Messena, agree with Carnot, that, "an expedition into any country where resistance is expected, and in the conduct of which talent and not audacity is required, can never, with any prospect of success, be entrusted to Augereau." In a war against Portugal, he will have few battles to fight, but a rich country to pillage: his march first towards the Tagus is, therefore, probable; but it does not exclude the possibility of Ireland being the ultimate purpose.

Augereau has been the scourge of all countries into which his arms have penetrated; and he openly declares, that what other nations have suffered from his presence *shall soon be thought trifles, in comparison with what he designs for England and Ireland, when once landed.**

When in France, either occupied or unemployed, he has always led a life so drunken and debauched, that it has even scandalized his vicious and immoral countrymen.

Many pretend that Augereau has shewn courage;

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Brumaire, year xii. No. iii. p. 4.

courage; though all his valorous performances had only plunder for their object, and he was always backed by numerous republican hordes, as eager for rapine as himself. If such deeds constitute courage, an English highwayman is far more courageous, because he attacks *singly*, exposing himself to the defence or resistance of those whom he assails; and if he escapes their swords or pistols, the gibbet of the offended laws of his country awaits him.

To finish our account of this republican general, it is proper to relate, that, according to Carnot's Memoirs, when Augereau in 1796 had an audience of the Directory, the attorney Rewbell said to his directorial colleagues—"*Il a bien l'air d'un factieux; quel fier brigand!*" and this fierce brigand was ten months afterwards charged by Rewbell to violate the constitution of his country, to oppress, enslave, and transport his countrymen.*

* Several of the particulars of this general's life are taken from Les Annales du Terrorisme, Dictionnaire Biographique, Ramel's Journal, Secret Memoirs of the 18th Fructidor, Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie, and other works.

LASNES.

LASNES was born in a village near Perpignan, where his father kept a wine-vault, and let lodgings to smugglers, waggoners, mule-drivers, and other persons of that description. He was, in 1784, bound apprentice to a dyer; whom, after robbing, he left, and enlisted into a regiment of dragoons; from which, in a few months, he deserted; and the Revolution found him a groom with the postmaster at Montelimar in Dauphiny. He soon became conspicuous there, among the patriotic brigands who, in 1789, laid waste that unfortunate country, murdered or proscribed all men of property, and plundered and divided their possessions.*

Recommended by the jacobins of that province, he returned in 1790 to Perpignan, where he was made an officer in the national guard; and, to the terror of all good and loyal men, directed most of the cruel transactions of the jacobin club of that city. He was the denouncer and accuser of Colonel Adhemar and the officers of the regiment of Cambresis, the cause of their transportation in chains to the prisons

* See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 165.

prisons of Orleans, and of their murder at Versailles on the 9th of September, 1792.

In 1793, when war was declared against Spain, Lasnes was promoted to the rank of chief of battalion; and, in 1794, to that of colonel, by the recommendation of General Dugommier. In the beginning of the same year, backed by the then reigning jacobins and terrorists, he married the daughter of a capital merchant at Perpignan, contrary to the wishes of her parents, and her own inclination. When he had squandered away her fortune, and was become acquainted with his present wife, (who was for two years his mistress,) he divorced and left the other with a child, in the greatest distress; her parents having died in prison, where Lasnes had confined them as fanatics, because they believed in a God, and he wanted their property.*

During Barras' missions in the South of France, Lasnes had made himself noticed for his *famous patriotism*, and was therefore appointed an adjutant-general under Buonaparte. When, in 1795, the regicide National Convention, contrary to the avowed opinion of the sovereign people in France, desired to continue its

* See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, pag. 392.

its oppression and tyranny over Frenchmen, by having two-thirds of its detested members re-elected into the Councils of Five Hundred and of the Ancients, and the sections and citizens at Paris opposed this violation of their rights; surrounded by the mutilated carcasses of eight thousand Parisian men, women, and children butchered by their bayonets and cannon, Lasnes and Buonaparte, for the first time, fraternized together; and so congenial were the feelings of these two revolutionary characters, that when, by the influence of Barras, the Directory nominated Buonaparte commander in chief over the army in Italy, the latter demanded the rank of a general of brigade for Lasnes, and employed him as such during the campaigns of 1796 and 1797. He distinguished himself in Italy on several occasions, particularly at the passage of the Po, on the 7th of May, 1796; at the battle of Fombio, and in the affair at Arcole, on the 16th of November following, in which he was severely wounded.

When the cruelty and plunder of the French marauders in Lombardy had produced an universal discontent, which broke out in several partial insurrections, Lasnes received from his Corsican

Corsican friend the honourable commission to silence complaints and clamour by terror and ferocity; and, by burning and shooting, to make the Republicans as much dreaded as they were already abhorred. Some revolts in the Imperial bailiwicks near Genoa were punished by him with an atrocious severity. In May 1796, he ordered every house in the village of Binosco to be burnt, after being first plundered by his soldiers; and two hundred of the inhabitants to be shot upon the smoaking ground of their former mansions, after having been forced to behold their wives and daughters violated before their eyes. In the next month, six villages near Tortona, with their inhabitants, shared the same dreadful fate. On this occasion Lasnes condemned every man above fifteen years of age to die; and every woman or girl under thirty to surrender herself to the disgusting embraces of his vile soldiery, under pain of being thrown alive into the flames of their burning habitations.*

In 1798, Lasnes went with Buonaparte to Egypt, and, when the Corsican deserted his army there, accompanied him back to France. In the Revolution effected by Buonaparte in November

* See Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie, page 84.

November 1799, Lasnes had a great share. He was first commander of the important post of the Thuilleries, and afterwards in the hall of the Council of Ancients.

When Buonaparte no longer apprehended any resistance in the capital, he sent Lasnes to restrain and keep in subjection the restless jacobins in the south of France, particularly those at Toulon. Having, to the satisfaction of the consular government, but at the expence of the lives of many of his former jacobin accomplices, calmed, if not pacified, that part of the republic, he was made the successor of General Murat, as chief over the consular guard at Paris. In this place he tried more to cultivate the friendship and confidence of his officers and men, than to obtain the Favour of the First Consul; acting more like a person who intended to succeed him, than one who wished to strengthen or preserve his usurpation. Of all despots, the military are the most suspicious: Buonaparte soon observed the manœuvres of his general; and, on ordering an examination of the guard's military chest, a deficit was discovered, amounting to five hundred thousand livres, which Lasnes had distributed among

among the soldiers, well knowing that where bayonets elevate a tyrant into power, bayonets too can destroy the tyrant with the tyranny, the usurper with the usurpation. Upon this discovery, Lasnes was immediately put under arrest, and many of the courtiers expected that he would either be shot or transported; but after a private conversation of three hours with the Consul (during which he is said to have hinted that he had taken care that neither the political secrets of Italy, nor the poisonous deeds of Syria, should perish with him) he was sent on an honourable exile, as ambassador to Portugal. His insolent conduct in that country is well known: while endeavouring to prevent the lawful trade with England, he abused and dishonoured his privileged character of a diplomatic agent, by introducing contraband commodities from France; and when his frauds and infamy were discovered, instead of being ashamed of his nefarious transactions, he impudently insisted upon the dismissal of those faithful servants to their king and country, who had loyalty enough to expose this new proof of French republican villany.

A short time before, the Regent had been the sponsor of Lasnes's child, and made him

many valuable presents.* Notwithstanding this liberal condescension, however, he wrote a threatening letter; and, not receiving a satisfactory answer, deserted his post, and left the country, without any farther ceremony. At his return to France, he was ordered not to approach within thirty leagues of Paris; but this marked disgrace was of short duration; and, when French ambition forced England to arm, after some months of political chicanery, Lasnes assumed his former station, where his intrigues had already effected such changes in the ministry as French insolence might desire, but which English moderation and generosity alone can prevent from being the ruin as well as the dishonour of Portugal.

The Lisbon mail of Sept. 30, 1803, brought the painful intelligence, that the Regent had stood godfather to another child of this French emissary; and that, contrary to the etiquette of his court, he admitted Lasnes and his wife to his table. If any evidence be required of the degraded state of the Continent, this fraternity of a sovereign prince with a revolutionary

* In Les Nouvelles à la Main, Vendemiaire, an xii. No. v. page 14, it is said, that the presents of the regent of Portugal amounted to ten thousand louis-d'ors.

tionary sans-culotte and his republican wife, once his mistress, may convince even the most incredulous. Lasnes was perfectly restored to his master's favour and confidence by engaging the cabinet of Lisbon to send an extraordinary ambassador to congratulate the usurper on his seizure of an imperial diadem. At Buonaparte's coronation he was made a field-marshal, and obtained a command in the army of England. General Junot, another grenadier ambassador, succeeded him at Lisbon.

MASSENA.

General Massena was born at Nice, where his father was a wine-merchant; and, at an early age, he enlisted as a soldier in the service of his sovereign, the King of Sardinia.

When revolutionary France determined to spread its dangerous and anti-social principles over every country of Europe, and its emissaries were dispatched to select proper subjects as proselytes and propagators (persons who had capacity enough to do harm; but not honour or conscience enough to resist temptation, and remain loyal and virtuous), Massena was employed to pervert the principles, or to undermine the fidelity, of his Sardinian Majesty's

soldiers and subjects.* In his *patriotic* endeavours he succeeded so well, that, in October 1792, when the jacobin General Anselme, without any previous declaration of war, invaded the county of Nice, the Sardinian troops, instead of defending the strong city and citadel of Nice, opened the gates, and laid down their arms, before an army not much superior in numbers to their own, and consisting entirely of raw recruits, and conscripts forced to march by a requisition backed by the guillotine. Massena was then only an ensign, but obtained immediately the rank of a captain among the French republicans. His local knowledge of the country caused him in the ensuing campaign to be attached to the staff of the French army of the Maritime Alps, where, in a short time, his intrigues advanced him to be a general of brigade. During this campaign he distinguished himself by his ferocity and persecution against his own countrymen; but, at the same time, contradictory as it is, for his great bravery against, and humanity shewn to, the enemy. On the 24th of

* Liste des Propagateurs Revolutionaires, Etrangers et François. Palermo, 1800, page 466.

November, 1793, he defeated the Sardinian army at Castel-Geneste, Bree, and seized upon Figaretto. At Ponte-di-Neva upon the Tanaro, on the 16th of April, 1794, he was victorious over the Austrians, and the next day made himself master of Ormia: on the 29th of the same month he contributed greatly to the victory at Saorgio, and was rewarded with the rank of a general of division. During the campaign of 1795, he commanded the right wing of the army in Italy, and continued to make himself conspicuous by his activity, intelligence and valour. On the 29th of June he repulsed the Austrians who had attacked his positions near Vado and Tersano; and, on the 20th of September, defended with success the post of Petit Gibraltar.

When, in 1796, Buonaparte assumed the command in Italy, he was an entire stranger in the army over which his own and Barras' crimes and intrigues had made him the chief. His officers disliked him as a terrorist and as a Corsican, and his soldiers did not confide in his talents as a general. He had but little experience; and no knowledge, but from maps, of one of the most difficult countries in Europe to act in on the offensive. By caresses and promises

promises he gained over Massena, to whom he is principally indebted for the brilliant opening of the campaign on the 10th, 11th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th of April, days so glorious for the French army. On the 14th of May, Massena entered Milan with the advanced guard of the French army; and on the 25th he occupied Verona, belonging then to the *neutral* republic of Venice. On the 22d of June he marched towards Roveredo, and repulsed the advanced posts of the Austrians under the command of General Beaulieu. On the 6th of July he directed the attack upon the Austrian lines, between the Adige and the Lac de Guarda, and, after a long resistance, carried them. On the 29th of the same month, however, the enemy, after great slaughter, carried the important post La Corona, and forced him to retreat; and on the 2d of August, when, in obedience to the orders of the general in chief, but contrary to his own judgment, he assaulted Lonado, his troops were repulsed, routed, and surrounded, and he had actually lost six hundren men and three pieces of cannon, when the fortunate Buonaparte advanced to his relief, disengaged the prisoners, retook the artillery, drove away the enemy, and entirely

changed the fortune of the day. During the remainder of the campaign, Massena marched from one success to another, with the single exception of Scaldaferro, where, on the 7th of November, he met with a check.

On the 13th of March, 1797, he defeated near Cadon a division of the Imperial troops under the command of General Count de Lusignan, and obliged the general to surrender himself a prisoner. In a few days after, he made himself master of the fort La Chiusa, forced the passage of Cassa Sola, put the enemy in confusion, notwithstanding their formidable entrenchments, and took several hundred prisoners, with all their magazines. Toward the end of the same month, he obtained new advantages at Tarvis and Clagenfurt.—On this latter occasion, the Archduke Charles, perceiving that a division of his army was in danger of being surrounded by two columns of the enemy, sent a strong body of troops against Massena, who commanded one of them. In consequence of a phenomenon not unusual in a mountainous country, a battle was literally fought upon this occasion *above the clouds*: the Austrians were again beaten, and pursued by the French cavalry, first across hills cover-

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ed with snow, and at last along the ice. A few days after this, General Massena was fortunate enough to fall in with a detachment of the Imperialists; and as his troops were vastly superior in number, after a slight engagement, he seized on all the heavy artillery and nearly the whole of the baggage belonging to the Austrian army.

In the beginning of April, Buonaparte dispatched Massena to Vienna, charged with a mission relative to a peace; from which city he went to the head-quarters of the Archduke Charles, at Durlach, on the 1st of May; and, after an audience of two hours, continued his way to Paris, whither his commander had sent him to procure from the Directory the ratification of the preliminaries of peace lately concluded and signed by him at Leoben. He was received in the capital with the greatest joy, pomp, and magnificence; and on the 18th of May the Directory treated him in the hall of the Odeon with a ball, and a banquet of eight hundred covers.

This reception caused some jealousy in the suspicious mind of the envious Corsican, who therefore did not chuse Massena as a companion in his favourite projects in Egypt; but

recommended him to the command over the army in the Roman territory, destined to create an atheistical mock republic upon the ruins of christianity and the papal power.

Augereau is considered as the first, and Massena as the second, of all the French republican marauders. The French army, on advancing towards Rome, under General Berthier, had promised to respect the government, the religion, and all property, public as well as private; but no sooner were they masters of Rome, than the Pope was arrested; a republic proclaimed; religion annihilated; the temples, the convents, the shrines of saints, the archives, the museums, the possessions of the chief of the state, and of religion, with those of individuals, were all plundered *en masse* by the organized republican pillage called requisition. The most costly and valuable articles, the most beautiful paintings and statues, were sequestrated, sold, or sent to France. The Vatican was entirely stripped, from the most precious furniture of the state chambers, to the most trifling utensils in the kitchen; the sacerdotal vestments and shrine of the Sestine Pauline, and other pontifical chapels, were burnt for the sake of the gold and silver contained in the

the embroidery; the Vatican library was plundered, and the Pope's private collection of books sold to a bookseller for nine hundred pounds sterling. All other property of the Pope, of his two nephews, of the Cardinals Yorke and Albini, and of all other noblemen, who, by withdrawing from French republican tyranny, were considered as emigrants, was confiscated and sold, and nothing could exhibit in a more detestable view the profligate vandalism of an army attended by a corps of *savans*, than the destruction of the Villa Albani, a place which, for situation, elegance, erudition, and exquisite works of art, was unrivalled.

Besides the plunder derived from these direct robberies, Massena had recourse to the accustomed French means of forced loans and contributions. Private property was thus placed entirely at the mercy of the invaders, who compelled merchants, tradesmen, and artists, to part with every article of value in their possession, including not only their stock in trade, and finished works, but even their knives, forks, spoons, and every thing that contained any portion of gold or silver. These acts of extortion were at length practised to

such a barbarous excess, that gold and silver being exhausted, and the merchants and shopkeepers drained of all their stock, which was exported, the copper money was seized, to complete the ballasting of ships; copper kitchen furniture was called in, a colossal bronze statue of Pope Corsini was melted to supply a base coin for circulation, and assignats were issued even so low as a penny sterling.*

While the generals, commissaries, and *savans*, were thus enriching themselves, the inferior officers had been nearly six months without pay. Apprehending that if the military chest, with all the plunder that it contained, was removed, they would in all probability never be satisfied, they assembled at the Pantheon, and peremptorily demanded that their pay should be issued in twenty-four hours, and that Massena should immediately give in his resignation. The sums required by the officers were paid; but Massena, instead of giving up his command, published an address to the army, in which he stated that he had led the troops of France a hundred and eighty times to victory, and that he was the principal cause of preventing the Austrians from penetrating

* See Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie, page 502.

trating into the south of France during the campaigns of 1793, 1794, and 1795. His peculation on one hand, however, and the intrigues and jealousies of the army administrators on the other (with whom he had not always shared as a lover of *equality)*, had rendered him so unpopular, that, finding his presence occasioned disturbances, he was obliged, with much reluctance, to withdraw, as the only means of saving *the wages of his honesty.**

During his short command at Rome, Massena had no enemy to encounter; but only peaceable citizens to plunder. Having served with repute as a general of division, it now remained for him to shew his abilities as a general in chief. The Directory, in acknowledging, according to the opinion of Buonaparte, his capacity and courage in executing the orders of others, did not suppose him to possess that extent of genius, and that *ensemble* of judgment, absolutely necessary to lead armies to victory: but his campaign in Switzerland in 1799 proves, beyond a doubt, that although he cannot pretend to be placed on a line with a Pichegru, a Moreau, or a Buona-

 parte,

* See Les Crimes des Republicains en Italie, page 503.

parte, it is but justice to rank him among the first revolutionary generals of the second class: he is above Generals Jourdan and Bernadotte, and equal, perhaps, to Berthier and Lecourbe.

In January, 1799, Massena was nominated commander in chief of the French Helvetian army, destined to assist the grand army under Jourdan by penetrating on the side of the Tyrol, and to enable France to anticipate the arrival of the Russians, and force the Emperor of Germany once more to sue for peace nearly under the walls of his own capital. The talents of the Archduke Charles, however, not only prevented the success of this plan, but, by his glorious victory over Jourdan, he uncovered the left wing of the army under Massena, who had already taken the field for the purpose of driving the Austrians from the mountainous regions inhabited by the Grisons; and accordingly had marched against them; forced the important pass of Luciensteig, and obliged the enemy to retire into the Tyrol, pursued by detachments under Lecourbe and Dessolles, toward the sources of the Inn and the Adige; by which Massena secured a double entrance into Italy and Germany at the same time.—But the defeats of Jourdan prevented France from

Engraved by T. S. Englehart.

inducing him to quit his position; but as he remained firm, it was determined to make a regular attack. A column of Austrians accordingly assailed, on the 4th of June, that portion of his army posted on the Zurich-Berg; but he declined a retreat, although another under Prince Reuss had advanced to support the former.

The Archduke, who was not aware of the strength of this post, lost a great number of his infantry, and the Generals Hotze, Wallis, and Hiller, were wounded upon this occasion; while four French officers of equal rank experienced a similar fate. He determined, however, to renew the assault two days after; and accordingly, on the 6th of June, reconnoitred the entrenchments in person; but Massena, who had suffered as much as the Archduke, and knew that if his entrenchments were forced, he should be obliged to retire through Zurich, where his extortions had disaffected the inhabitants, thought proper to withdraw across the Limmat during the preceding night, leaving to the victors his entrenchments, with thirty pieces of cannon, and the city of Zurich.

After the evacuation of this city, Massena took

took a new position on the chains of mountains called Albis, being the nearest, safest, and strongest that he could assume. Here it was impossible to force him with the weakened and harassed troops under the command of the Archduke, before some time should have been allowed for repose, and proper previous measures been taken. Except some skirmishes, nothing occurred until the middle of August, when the French army of observation received orders to penetrate once more into Germany, and Massena began again to put his troops in motion.

No sooner had he received fresh reinforcements of twenty thousand men, than it was determined to move forward, and recommence operations against the Archduke, before that prince should have effected a junction with a large body of Russians, now in full march to Schaffhausen, under the command of General, Reinsi-Korsakow. The system of operations that Massena adopted on this occasion was equally bold and successful. A column of the French army, detached across the Limmat, was fortunate enough to penetrate into the Austrian camp, and carry terror and dismay into that city which it had been so lately forced to abandon

don. On the 15th of August, the day succeeding this partial attack, another took place along the whole extent of the left wing; General Chabran having climbed the heights of Richterswyl, Etzel, and Schindelezzi, and threatened to turn the position of Zurich; while Lecourbe, embarking with a choice body of troops on board a flotilla prepared by him on the lake of the four cantons, landed at Fluellen, forced the famous pass of the Devil's Bridge, took possession of St. Gothard, and seized on the Valais.

At the moment when the Archduke was employed in bringing up a body of the newly-arrived Russians, to repair the misfortunes of this portion of his army, a diversion took place in another quarter, which soon arrested his attention.

To relieve Massena from the joint pressure of the Austrians and Russians, the army of observation encamped in the neighbourhood of Mentz had been ordered to take the field. General Muller, to whose charge it was confided, established his head-quarters at Manheim, and pushed his advanced guards as far as Heidelberg; while Baraguay Hilliers, advanced with a body of troops drawn from the neighbouring garrison,

garrison, imposed a contribution upon Frankfort, passed the Maine, and joined his countrymen in the territories of Darmstadt.

No sooner did Prince Charles learn that a body of French troops, after entering Suabia, was levying contributions, and preparing to seize on the rich harvests of Germany, now left defenceless by his absence, than he sent forward a strong detachment, and, having conferred the command on General Hotze, soon after recrossed the Rhine in person.

While the Austrian chief was thus employed in repressing the late incursion of the foe, Massena, taking advantage of his absence, determined once more to obtain a decided superiority in Helvetia, into which a considerable body of Russians had now penetrated, before the arrival of Suwarow rendered a defensive system once more necessary. Accordingly, after a number of able evolutions, which enabled him to approach the object of his attention, he ordered Lecourbe, an officer skilled in that species of warfare adapted to mountainous regions, to enter the valley of the Grisons, and turn the left wing of the Allies, commanded by General Hotze, who was now defending the cause

of

of loyalty on the summits of his native hills.—He also detached General Lorges against the Russians encamped on the opposite side of the Limmat; two columns, under the Generals Mortier and Klein, were at the same time directed to attack the centre; while Soult was to pass the Linth, and carry the advanced posts of the Austrians.

The success of this combined movement of Massena's army, on an immense line, stretching nearly from the country of the Grisons to the banks of the Rhine, was dubious; and it appeared probable that partial defeats and successes, or at most an incomplete victory, might have rendered the action indecisive; when the unfortunate death of General Hotze, whose talents and energy had hitherto animated the Allies at the commencement of the action, rendered success certain, though not without considerable loss.

While the left wing, which had acted under Hotze's command, was obliged to retreat in confusion, the Russian General Korsakow being unable, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of his countrymen, to oppose the repeated assaults of the French columns, which now pressed

pressed upon him from every side, found it necessary to retreat to Schaffhausen; and Zurich having been carried by assault, a body of his troops, posted in that city, was forced to surrender to Massena.

The immediate result of Massena's victory consisted in the immense slaughter of the enemy; the capture of five thousand prisoners, one hundred pieces of cannon, and fifteen standards, besides all the baggage and artillery of the Russians; and their flight, first to the banks of the Thur, and then across the Rhine. But the remoter effects proved infinitely more disastrous to the cause of the Allies, and enabled the French once more to obtain a manifest superiority on that central theatre; whence they could succour their armies in Italy; menace the Austrians on the side of their remote frontiers; and, by keeping the war at a distance from the territories of the republic, ensure its tranquillity, and enforce the ambitious projects of its despotic rulers.

While Massena had thus re-assumed the ascendancy in Helvetia, Suwarow (hitherto uniformly victorious), in pursuance of the new system of warfare adopted in an evil hour by the combined armies, was penetrating into that country

country at the head of sixteen thousand men, which were all that remained after so many toils and battles. Fully assured of the co-operation of the Austrians, and also certain, as he imagined, to find at Zurich a considerable body of Russians, he had already crossed the plains of Piedmont, scaled and obtained possession of the heights of St. Gothard, after defeating the troops posted there by General Lecourbe, and was now about to enter the canton of Uri, when he received an imperfect account of the defeat of the Allies. Distressed and angry on the receipt of this disastrous intelligence, but still determined to persevere, the intrepid veteran had recourse to threats, and intimated to General Korsakow, that he "was marching to repair his errors," and that Korsakow "should answer with his head, if he made another retrograde step."

That unfortunate general immediately assembled the wreck of his troops, and having been joined by a body of Austrians, the corps of Condé, and the Batavian contingent, determined to attempt a diversion in favour of Suwarow, by re-assuming his former position before Zurich, during the absence of the French commander. But Massena, who had so lately dispelled

pelled the charm under which the Russians were supposed to be invincible, proved his superiority over his rivals, by following up, and taking advantage of his recent success. He accordingly detached a column towards Altorf, and strengthened Lecourbe's detachment, now disputing every inch of ground with the invaders in the neighbourhood of Glaris, and securing all the intermediate passes, so as to render a nearer approach not only uninviting, but even fatal.

In the mean time, Suwarow displayed all the talents of a resolute leader, who had not only the army of a numerous and victorious enemy to combat, but the disaffection and mutiny of his own troops to suppress. After numerous, and almost incredible hardships, amidst incessant toils and daily engagements, he arrived at length in the valley of Mutten, and took possession of the bridge; after a most obstinate resistance. The post of Brunnen was also carried the next day; but, unfortunately, here ended the progress of the invaders; for Massena not only sent supplies to the detachment under Lecourbe, but shut up the passage between the lakes of Wallenstadt and Zurich, and posted a body of troops in so judicious a manner in the

the neighbourhood of the ancient abbey of Einsidlen, that all further approach in the face of a superior army was impossible. Suwarow, therefore, for the first time in his life, was forced to begin a retreat, which, notwithstanding all its dangers and difficulties, he effected in a masterly manner.

No sooner had Massena ascertained that Suwarow was prepared to submit to his fate, than multiplying as usual his means by his celerity, he marched with his utmost speed against Korsakow, hitherto kept in check by General Ferino, and having come up with the Allies, immediately commenced a terrible attack. The right wing, partly unable to withstand the shock, and partly intimidated by the late events, immediately gave way; but the left, chiefly composed of loyal emigrants, stood firm: being led on by the grandson of the Prince of Condé, they displayed their wonted valour, and showed that the French Nobles, when brought into the field, were likely to prove the most formidable adversaries of the French republicans.

A short time after these brilliant successes of Massena in Switzerland, Buonaparte effected a revolution at Paris; and, although a known hatred

hatred subsisted between him and Massena, invited the latter to Paris, that he might consult with him about the plan for the ensuing campaign.*

In December 1799, General Championet, the French commander of the army near Genoa, died of an epidemic fever, which made great ravages among his men, and in the frontier towns on the borders of Italy; and Massena was appointed his successor.

Massena found this army overwhelmed with the miseries of want and disease, disorganized, licentious, and under no subordination. Insurrections were frequent at Genoa; and during the remainder of December, the Austrian Generals Klenau and Hohenzollern made vigorous, though unsucessful, efforts to gain this valuable city by a coup-de-main. The presence of Massena, and his talents, courage, and patience, resisted the attack from without, and the plots from within; and, with a handful of men shut up in various posts from the Bochetta to the Alps of Dauphiny, suffering every privation and hardship, he, for a long time, rendered ineffectual all the attempts of a superior

* The particulars of Massena's campaigns are extracted from the reports of the Austrian, Russian, and French commanders. The Military Journal of Dumas has likewise been consulted.

superior enemy to get possession of the city of Genoa, blockaded by Austrians, and bombarded by an English fleet.

In the beginning of April 1800, the Austrian General Melas determined to change the blockade into a regular siege. Having previously addressed to his troops a proclamation, reminding them of the glory they had acquired last year, and the necessity of maintaining it by new exploits, he attacked the Bochetta in person, while Field-marshal Baron Elnitz assailed the heights of Vado, and another column of the army reached Savona, by the road of Acqui and Sassello. Their combined efforts drove Massena into Genoa, while a British squadron continued to cruise off the coast; and the Austrian commander made great exertions to gain the surrounding heights.

A party at Genoa, adverse to the French interests, facilitated the publication and dispersion of a proclamation from General Melas, assuring the inhabitants, that his intentions were not to subdue or subjugate, but to deliver them from a yoke which had reduced them to a condition truly deplorable. He promised to respect property, and defend the true religion, to establish a provisional government, make

make their harbour a free port, and protect their commerce. These offers were rendered more tempting by the blockade of the port by Lord Keith, and the general want of provisions, which obliged Massena to have recourse to great severities to limit the consumption.

Before the end of April the Austrians took possession of the heights of Montenotte, and San Giacomo, made themselves masters of Finale, Vado, and Savona, and drove General Suchet, whom Massena had sent to command that division of his army, after many severe conflicts, into the county of Nice. At this very time the besiegers gained possession of the suburb of Genoa, called San Pietro d'Arena, but made an unsuccessful attempt to surprise the gate called La Lanterne. Beset with internal as well as external foes, and determined to defend his post to the last extremity, Massena took measures for organizing the Cisalpine refugees within the walls, invited the citizens to deposite their private stock of provisions in the public stores; and, by proclamations, exhorted his followers to resist the efforts of malevolence, and maintain good discipline. He animated the inhabitants to endure with firmness the rigours of a siege, affirming the

promises of Austria to be insidious, and her views treacherous; and reminding them of the glorious defence made by themselves, unaided, in the year 1746. These addresses produced excellent effect, but did not diminish their wants or necessities. So little flour remained, that, on the tenth day of the siege, the inhabitants were reduced to four ounces of bread each, as a daily allowance; but the slaughter of horses supplied the shambles, and wine and brandy were in abundance.

Lord Keith having landed at Voltri the heavy artillery necessary for the siege, and the Austrians being masters of Savona, and of all the surrounding heights, the operations were secure from interruption; and Melas, fearing that the loss of much time on this object would frustrate the general plan of the campaign, changed the siege again into a blockade, relying on the effects of famine rather than the operations of force or skill. Leaving, therefore, Generals Ott and Hohenzollern with fifty battalions before the city, to observe Massena, and to repulse his sorties, he on the 25th of April, marched with the remainder of his troops towards San Giacomo, to attack the French under Suchet and Rochambeau, in the county

county of Nice. For the five weeks following, the strict maintenance of the blockade by the Austrian army and the British fleet, reduced the garrison and the inhabitants to the most deplorable state of want. At last, on the 4th of June, Massena, unsubdued by force of arms, and reduced by famine alone, found himself under the necessity of yielding to the repeated solicitations of the people, and of submitting to his destiny. Accordingly, notwithstanding the late successes of Buonaparte, whom treason, or the ignorance of Melas, had permitted to penetrate into Italy, and of which the rumour only had reached Massena; he at length determined to surrender on the very day that General Ott had received orders to abandon the blockade, and combine his movements with those of Melas, in order to put a stop to the victorious career of Buonaparte.*

As

* The Austrian general did more justice to Massena's merit, and to the bravery of his troops, than Buonaparte and his military sycophants. Before he changed the siege into a blockade, he wrote to him, and announced the defeat of General Suchet, who went to his relief, and proposed at the same time to grant him an honourable capitulation. Among other proofs of his esteem for Massena's talents, he wrote—"General, la fortune n'a point secondé votre valeur, *qui seule vous rend digne de l'estime de l'univers entier.*

Avec

As any delay might have been attended with the most fatal consequences, a liberal capitulation was immediately granted; in consequence of which, the garrison, now reduced to eight thousand and ten men, with their artillery and ammunition, were to be sent to France; allowance was given to such of the inhabitants as chose to retire thither also, and the prisoners made on both sides were to be delivered up without exchange.

An official report, published at Genoa, by Citizen Goffredini, in July 1800, mentions, that during the blockade and siege of that city, and in sixty-two skirmishes and sorties, 4266 Frenchmen were made prisoners, 5052 were killed, and 6012 wounded; 9544 Austrians were made prisoners, and upwards of that number killed. Of an epidemic fever which raged

Avec un petit nombre d'hommes, vous deviez succomber sous mes efforts, et vous y succomber avec honneur. Mais sacrifiez la gloire de vous defendre jusqu'a la derniere goutte de votre sang, à l'humanité et à *l'admiration que personne ne peut vous oter.* Je vous offre la plus honorable capitulation," &c. &c.—To this letter Massena answered---"Monsieur le General! J'ai reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'ecrire, par laquelle vous m'offrez une capitulation honorable. Je ne suis pas encore dans cette extremité: il me reste assez de troupes pour vous prouver, que je puis me defendre, quand même le General Suchet seroit battu, ce que j'ai bien de la peine à croire. MASSENA."

raged in the city, 3706 Frenchmen died in the hospitals, and 216 in private houses; of the inhabitants, 6384 died by the fever; 20,493 by famine, and 196 were killed or wounded from the fire of the besiegers. So numerous were the ill-fated victims of a cruel duty, which forced Massena to regard with seeming indifference the ravages of pestilence, famine, and death within, and the assaults, bombardments, and firing from without. It would scarcely be possible to believe, that a man so situated could think of amassing treasure, and of adding pillage to other evils, were it not affirmed in the above quoted report, *that during the time Massena commanded in Genoa, he accumulated, by requisitions from the living, and confiscation after death, the enormous sum of two millions five hundred thousand livres!!!**

Although Buonaparte was not quite satisfied with Massena's giving up Genoa before every soul in the city had perished, or, as he wrote, until "*toute la ville etoit un tombeau;*†" yet

 from

* Besides Goffredini's report, the official reports of the Austrian and French generals have been consulted in what relates to the seige of Genoa.

† A letter from Buonaparte to Massena, inserted in Les Nouvelles à la Main, Fructidor, an viii. No. 12, finishes with these words.

from policy he trusted him with the command over the army of Italy after the battle of Marengo, knowing that his severity would not make him beloved by the soldiers, nor his avarice by the inhabitants of that country, and that, therefore, he was neither dangerous as a military rival, nor to be feared as a political conspirator. But Massena did not preserve this command longer than a month; in which short time, however, he added to his fortune another million of livres. After repeated complaints, he was disgraced and recalled to give an account of his financial transactions both at Genoa and in Lombardy. On his arrival at Paris, he was strongly repremanded by the First Consul, in the presence of several general officers as *pure* as himself; but his droll, and not ironical answer, calmed the anger of Buonaparte, and silenced the envy of his enemies and fellow-plunderers.*

From

* When Buonaparte had finished his philippic, Massena told him with a submissive air: *Je suis un voleur;* and, fixing him, he said, *Tu es un voleur.* Looking next at General Murat, he continued, *Il est un voleur!* then, regarding the whole circle of Generals, he exclaimed, *Nous sommes des voleurs;* bowing to them all he added, *Vous etes des voleurs;* and in retiring, he said, *Oui, Citoyen Consul, ils sont des voleurs.*---Des republicains François tel est le caractere! See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Vendemiaire, an x. No. iii. page 7.

From that time, Massena seldom appeared at court; but was, by the order of Buonaparte, watched by the police as suspected and disaffected. He in no company, however, concealed his hatred and contempt of the Corsican; but even braved it so far, as to buy an estate at the distance of a mile only from Buonaparte's palace of Malmaison; for which reason many persons in France believe that he left it for St. Cloud.

It is an observation worthy of notice, that neither Massena, nor any other republican generals, who owed their all to the Revolution, ever confided in it, by laying out their wealth in *national* estates: they purchased patrimonial property *only*.

Massena was always disliked by the officers and men under him, both for his severity and strict discipline, and for never sharing his plunder, nor suffering any body but himself to plunder where he commanded. Being besides a foreigner, he certainly is *the only General of any approved talents*, whom Buonaparte dares trust to lead on the troops in his desperate undertaking against England. Massena is about forty-four years of age, of middle stature, and

of a strong constitution; but his character is alike unfeeling, sensual and covetous.*

ANDREOSSY.

ANDREOSSY was born a gentleman: an appellation no longer fashionable in France since the reign of equality. He pretends to be descended from the house of Medicis at Florence, which has given two Queens to France, several Popes to Rome, Grand Dukes to Tuscany, and Empresses and Queens to Sovereigns in Germany and Italy.

Andreossy was educated in the same manner as all the other young gentlemen in France, who, before the Revolution, were destined for a military career. At an early age he manifested great genius for the study of mathematics, and other sciences necessary to constitute an able engineer. As his industry and inclination equalled his natural abilities, his progress was quick, and he obtained, at the age of eighteen, a commission as lieutenant in the corps of the King's Naval Engineers at Toulon.

* Massena continues unemployed as a general; but was, in May 1784, appointed a Field Marshal, after being in the preceding January elected a member of the Legislative Corps.

lon. Possessing more pride than property, more ambition than loyalty, he, from its beginning, joined a Revolution which, by the resignation of the Royalists, promised rapid advancement; and by the proscription of all men of property, placed poverty on a level with fortune.*

In 1792, when, after the fatal 10th of August, General Montesquieu received orders to invade, *without any previous declaration of war*, the territory of his Sardinian Majesty, Andreossy served under him as captain of artillery, and made himself conspicuous by his strict attention to his duty, and by the regularity of his conduct. He continued to serve in the Alps until 1794, when he was attached to the staff of the Army under General Dugomier, against the Spaniards. Here again he distinguished himself by his ability and courage, particularly on the 1st of May, at the battle of Alberdes and at the capture of Bellegrade on the 17th of September following; but at this period of the Revolution, when igno-

 rant

* The author has heard lately, from very respectable authority, that Andreossy intended, in 1791, to emigrate; but family affairs, in consequence of the death of his father in that year, forced him to remain in France. In 1792, he had no choice left between the guillotine and the service of the republicans.

rant and impudent sans-culottes were promoted, without any other reason than because they called themselves *exclusive patriots*, or any other merit but that of being known jacobins, Andreossy's birth, and gentlemanly manners, united with his talents, alarmed the suspicious republican tyrants; and it was only by continuing to remain in an inferior station, without claiming rewards, or pretending to rank, that he escaped imprisonment, and perhaps the guillotine. It was not till February 1796, that he was nominated chief of battalion in one of the regiments of artillery in the army under Buonaparte, who soon remarked how valuable he was as an officer, and respectable as a citizen.

On the 18th of July, previous to an assault on Mantua, he made, with five gun-boats, a feint attack, and, by drawing the attention of the enemy to this point, lessened the dangers and difficulties of Generals Murat and Dallemagne, who made a real one, rather to reconnoitre the enemy's strength and position, than to conquer the place. For his valour on that day, Buonaparte made him a chief of brigade; and, until the surrender of Mantua, he continued with these gun-boats to harass the Aus-

trians, to intercept their convoys by water, and to repulse and defeat their armed vessels, destined to procure them provisens, by protecting their sorties: he therefore contributed greatly to the capture of this important city, which famine, and not arms, compelled to capitulate. On the 19th of May 1797, he gave another proof of his intrepidity; being ordered by Buonaparte to examine, if contrary to report, the river Lozinzo was not fordable; he, without any hesitation, precipitated himself into the middle of a rapid current, and, after swimming for some time, found a place at which he could pass and repass on foot.

When the peace of Campo Formio allowed Buonaparte to pursue his ambitious plans against the British possessions in the East Indies, *by invading a province belonging to an ally of the French Republic*, the Directory gave him a *carte blanche*, not only to choose all the troops that he desired for this expedition, but even to select from the different French armies those generals and other officers whose talents he judged useful or necessary to the success of his undertaking. Of Andreossy's ability and bravery Buonaparte had no doubt, nor of his attachment to his person; and of his dis-

eretion he had seen repeated proofs during the two campaigns in Italy; he was therefore one of the first officers in whom Buonaparte confided, by giving him orders to keep himself ready to embark at Toulon, for Malta and Egypt; and during the passage from France for these places, he was the only officer of equal rank whom the commander in chief admitted into the same ship with him.

A prey to invasion from the earliest times, the fertile Egypt had received, during two and twenty centuries, a succession of conquerors; none of whom, however, before Buonaparte, brought them slavery and wretchedness, in the names of liberty and equality; or death and destruction, in the name of fraternity. His predecessors, the Persian, Macedonian, Grecian, Roman, Arabian, Georgian, and Turkish invaders, never pretended to arrive as friends: nor, acting as the most barbarous enemies, did they ever, on imposing a new bondage, say that they were breaking their former fetters; they did not, while committing rapine and murder, talk of respect for persons and property; nor in preaching atheism, publish that they revered their religion. This abominable republican cant and hypocrisy, was reserved for

for Buonaparte and his satellites, as the last test of depraved minds, as devoid of humanity and integrity, as incapable of honour.

At the landing of Buonaparte on the 2d of July 1798, in the desert, nine miles from Alexandria, Andreossy belonged to the staff of the army, and debarked with its commander. He was therefore a witness of, if not an actor in, the sanguinary and perfidious policy of Buonaparte at Alexandria, by immediate terror to preclude future resistance. This city, without any means of defence, and with a feeble garrison, was stormed by a numerous army; who, contrary to the laws of war and of civilised nations, sent no previous summons. The Turks, assailed on every side by so large a force, made the best resistance that personal courage, unaided by tactics, could afford; about a hundred and fifty of the French were killed, and Generals Kleber and Menou wounded. Seeing the invaders scaling the ramparts, and forcing themselves in on every side, the Turks desisted from an unavailing opposition, and, betaking themselves to God and their prophet, filled the mosques. The republicans, with cannibal rage, pursued; men and women, old and young, children at the breast, all were massacred;

massacred; and *this labour of depopulation lasted four hours.* Glutted with carnage, the troops at length desisted; and the few inhabitants who remained alive were exceedingly astonished at finding that the invaders did not cut their throats also.* On this glorious occasion, Andreossy received a slight wound.

When this display of a thorough disregard to all laws, human and divine, had procured Buonaparte the possession of Alexandria, he determined to march towards Cairo. Andreossy, being now promoted to the rank of a general of brigade, was, with General Perée, ordered to fit out, with all possible dispatch, some gun-boats and armed shallops, and with them to advance towards Rhaminie, to protect the French against an armed flotilla of the Beys, which was descending the Nile on purpose to attack them. The brave but improvident and irregular assaults of the Mamelukes were soon repulsed; and when their land forces were dispersed, their naval armaments were added to those of the republicans, and served, till the arrival

* In detailing this diabolical scene, the author has not ventured to alter the phrases in which it was narrated by the actors themselves. See Intercepted Correspondence, vol. i. pp. 1, 13, 19, 136 and 150.

arrival of the English, only to protect and escort their transports and convoys on the Nile.

In his proclamation to the troops before he embarked at Toulon, Buonaparte declared that he had undertaken this expedition *for the good of mankind*. As the cruel butchery at Alexandria rather contradicted this assertion, a National Institute which he established at Cairo was intended not only to confirm his promise, and palliate the crimes committed, but to give his European friends, philosophers, innovators, and admirers, some reasons for extenuation, and some arguments for panegyric and applause. Of this *national* institute Andreossy was elected a member; but, according to Tallien's *Literary* Journal, the only task that this *Literary* Society imposed upon the General, was, *the sounding of the roads of Damietta*.

In the spring of 1799, Buonaparte marched toward Syria, to chastise Djezzar Pacha of St. Jean d'Acre, who had declined his offers of fraternity; and perhaps to find his way back to France, by causing a revolution in the tottering Turkish empire: but the English hero, Sir Sidney Smith, stopped his progress, annulled his plans, and, by mere native British valour, tore from the Corsican's brow laurels dishonoured

noured and stained by indiscriminate slaughter and poison; and a career of victory, hitherto uninterrupted, was, for the first time, forced to endure the chastening hand of adversity. General Andreossy commanded a brigade of the French troops, both before Jaffa and before Acre. During the attack of this last place, by discovering some fords across the river which runs within fifteen hundred yards of its walls, and guiding the army in passing it in the night of the 17th of March, he did such essential service, that, in the public orders of the next day, he received the thanks of the commander in chief. When Buonaparte was obliged to decamp from before Acre, Andreossy was one of the generals whom he charged to cover his retreat; which he did in such a masterly manner, that the troops under him suffered less than those under the command of any other general, and while protecting his countrymen, he made, besides, a number of Turks and Arabs prisoners, without sustaining any loss himself.

After a disgraceful return to Egypt, from an excursion in which he had promised himself so much glory, Buonaparte went to reside at Cairo; where not only the curses of the inhabitants of all countries into which he had carried his

his arms, but even those of his own soldiers, accompanied him. Andreossy assisted him here, on several occasions, to quell the mutinous spirit of his troops, and to counteract the plots of his discontented generals and officers: and for this service he was rewarded with the entire confidence of his chief.

So close had been the blockade of Egypt by the British fleet, and so difficult all communication with other countries, that the affairs of Europe were but imperfectly known to Buonaparte; and the late events there had only reached him by the *indiscreet and impolitic* intervention of the enemy. Astonished at obtaining intelligence of a new war, as well as of the multiplied disasters which accompanied its progress, he determined to return to Europe, and to desert in a most cowardly manner, and in the most wretched condition, the remainder of an army brought to Africa merely by his outrageous ambition, to which so many thousands had already fallen victims. Had his base design been discovered, it is very probable that, both from the officers and men, he would have met with that punishment which his crimes and desertion merited. He, therefore, prior to the event, communicated his intentions

tions to nobody but Berthier. Of the four generals whom he fixed upon to accompany him in his flight, Andreossy was one; but he had not sufficient confidence in him, nor in any of the other generals, except Berthier, to explain the object of his orders to hold themselves ready for an embarkation. They all went on board in consequence of sealed instructions, which they were not to open till arrived upon the beach; and they sailed for France with the belief that their destination was Syria or Candia. As of the ninety-two generals attached to the army in Egypt, Andreossy was one of the youngest, this preference shews that he was a favourite before Buonaparte was First Consul, and accounts for the many trusty places and employments that he has enjoyed since that period.*

When Buonaparte had succeeded in overthrowing his friends in the Directory, and usurping the supreme power in France, Andreossy was appointed a general of division, a chief of the staff in the army of the interior, and a joint assistant to the minister of the war department.

* In relating the particulars of the transactions in Italy and Egypt in which Andreossy was concerned, the official reports and military memoirs have been consulted.

department. In all these situations, he conducted himself so much to the satisfaction of Buonaparte, that when, by the peace of Luneville, the continental war ended, and England was the only enemy the French republic had to encounter, a committee of chosen naval and military men was created, purposely to devise some plan, and direct their talents to make an invasion of England not only possible, but successful, and Andreossy was one of its members. It was according to their plans that Boulogne was fortified, and made a point of union for a fleet of gun-boats, and that Cherbourg and Antwerp were decreed naval stations of the first rank as well as Brest and Toulon.

It surprised many in France, and caused early doubts of Buonaparte's sincerity in the pacification with England, when he selected Andreossy as an ambassador to, and a preserver of the peace with, a nation whose destruction had, for the preceding twelve months, been his only occupation and study.

But this was not the only circumstance worth remark, in the appointing this French general ambassador to Great Britain. When at last, after much political chicanery, Andreossy went to England, a French army was actually collecting

collecting on the opposite coasts; and the French threats and calumnies in the official *Moniteur* preceded and accompanied him. It had been the insolent but constant policy of revolutionary France, to send military men as its political agents, or rather, privileged emissaries; particularly to those nations which it intended to embroil or to conquer. Bernadotte was sent as a minister to Austria in 1798, at the same time that General Brune represented the French republic in Switzerland. When the former conspired at Vienna, the latter, whose plans were by that time ripe for execution, changed his title of ambassador for that of general, and assumed the command over an army invading and ruining a country, which his plots had divided and distracted, and his intrigues duped or blinded. At the very period when Andreossy arrived in England, another French general, Citizen Ney, was both French ambassador and French commander in wretched Helvetia; and in all the political circles at Paris, and even in the newspapers, it was reported, that should fresh hostilities break out between Great Britain and France, Andreossy was destined to head the army against England, or at least to be the chief of its staff.

This

This last rank, we all know, he holds at this moment.

If Andreossy conducted himself while resident at London with a moderation which was unexpected in a Frenchman, and surprising in a French republican; if his avowed public transactions obtained the esteem of the government, and the approbation of the country, it is certainly more to be ascribed to the personal character of the ambassador, than to that of a revolutionary public functionary; he deserves, therefore, praise as a man, and no blame as a politician. As to his *secret* intrigues, they are little known, and would have been less so, had not the author been favoured, by a friend at Paris, with a copy of Talleyrand's official instructions, sanctioned by the approbation of the First Consul, and which Andreossy brought with him to this country: as an historical monument of French design, treachery, and perfidy, they cannot be too often read, or too well remembered.

INSTRUCTIONS OF C. M. TALLEYRAND TO GENERAL ANDREOSSY.

At your first interview with the British Ministers, you have to declare, in the name of the First

First Consul, his great esteem for them all; but particularly for Mr. A—, and Lord H—; and that it is the sincere wish of France to continue in peace with England. You hope that they will not listen to the clamours and complaints of the personal enemies of the First Consul, and the implacable and hereditary enemies of France; you may insinuate, that their own honour and interest, and the welfare of England, are nearly connected with such conduct; because the Pitts, the Windhams, the Grenvilles, the Bourbons, and their friends the Chouans and the emigrants, are as much their enemies, and the enemies of the peace, as of the present French government; and care little if war ruin England, so that it but displaces the present ministers, and gives some trouble to the First Consul. On all occasions hold this same language, and try to discover the impression it makes upon Mr. A——, and Lord H——, individually; observe whether they believe its truth, or doubt its sincerity; and wether ambition and interest blind, or patriotism guide their judgments, actions, and answers.

At your first audience of his B——M——, present him with the high respect and admiration of the First Consul, for all his royal and personal

personal virtues; to which alone, and to his present able and wise ministers, France and Europe ascribe the general peace with which the world has been blessed, and which it is the intention of the First Consul inviolably to preserve. At every audience, until otherwise instructed, you are to touch with as much delicacy as possible on the merits of his present ministers, and his own great judgment in choosing such just, meritorious, and patriotic councellors.

To his Royal Highness the P.——of W.——, you have to insinuate that the First Consul has always admired his generous and noble mind, and that it has been a source of the greatest regret to him during the late contest, not to be able sooner to express his respectful admiration, and to gain the good opinion of such a great prince. Pay particular attention to the prince's answers and conversation; and observe whether he throws out any hints, that he knows what the First Consul had said about him in a conversation with some of his friends who visited France last summer; but, by your conduct, you are to appear perfectly ignorant on this subject. Try to find out who are the Prince's chief friends and favourites; whether those

those persons, whose names you already know, continue to advise and govern him, or whether they have been succeeded by others, and who they are. If you can insinuate yourself into the confidence of any one who you are certain possesses the entire confidence of the Prince, you may let him understand, as from yourself, that you regret to see his (the Prince's) retired situation; and that, although you had no permission so to do, yet you would take upon yourself, from the known sentiments of the First Consul, if approved by the Prince, to ask any sum of money that his Royal Highness should fix upon, as a loan, to be repaid when the Prince succeeds to the throne. This transaction is of the most delicate and secret nature, and must be kept entirely from the knowledge of the King, his family, and the ministers; and you cannot be too careful not to commit *(compromettre)* yourself or your character. Should the Prince accept of the offer, and you of course receive private audiences, impress strongly upon his Royal Highness's mind the necessity for secresy. When the question is about the sum that he may want, you should observe, that to avoid exciting suspicion, which may be followed by discovery, and be hurtful

hurtful to the Prince in the public opinion, you think a certain annual sum (any sum under one million) would be the best and most convenient arrangement. When this point is settled, and you shall have received the first remittance for the Prince, and, of course, are offered his bond, you are to refuse it, observing, that the First Consul trusts entirely to the honour of the Prince; but you have at the same time to declare, that it would give the First Consul the highest satisfaction, if, by a letter from the Prince's hand, he were assured that His Royal Highness would, by degrees, cease all future acquaintance and connexion with the Bourbons; and, at the Prince's accession to the throne, not permit them, or the other emigrants, to reside any longer in his dominions. Be attentive to what the Prince says, and careful to discern whether he be sincere in what he says; after your report, you shall receive further instructions how to act. If the Prince or his friends decline your offer, endeavour to find out the reason; whether he has not a previous engagement with the Bourbons, and whether he entertains any hatred or prejuduce against the First Consul. 'In her present disgrace, avoid great attention to, or notice of,

the P——ss of W——, because it might hurt her, and offend the P——; as you know that next summer a French lady, who knew the Princess at Brunswick, intends to renew her acquaintance, and to inspire her with a good opinion of the First Consul; and then you shall receive directions how to assist her. Inform yourself, however, whether her daughter, the young Princess, shews any genius and abilities; in what manner she is educated; whether her governess, and the persons educating and attending her, have talents; to what party they belong, and whether they are known to like or to hate France. If, by some discreet attentions, you can gain their good opinion, do not neglect it. If they are to be gained over to our interests only by money, make your report, and you shall receive orders how to conduct yourself.

With respect to the other branches of the Royal family, you have to follow the examples, customs, and etiquette of other ambassadors; but when you speak with the D—— of Y——, remember to throw out delicate compliments on his military abilities, from which France has suffered so much; and to the D—— of C—— express the obligations of France to him for

not

not employing his great naval talents during the late war.

Endeavour to be as popular as possible; never refuse an invitation from the chief of the city, or from the wealthy citizens; imitate as much as possible their manner of society, and their custom of conversation; for at their feasts and assemblies, where you are invited, some members of the government will probably be present. As a Frenchman, you may, without giving offence, mix water with your wine, while they drink theirs undiluted; and thus often, perhaps, you may discover their secrets, without exposing ours.

It is not necessary to remind you to be polite and condescending at the balls and routs of the English nobility; but not so as to forget your rank, and that of the nation which you represent. Your own judgment will tell you when it may be necessary to be prouder than the proudest, and to resent, with indignation or contempt, offences or neglect. Never forget or forgive the presence of a Bourbon, of any noble emigrant, or one decorated with the proscribed orders. Should you meet with Pitt, Windham, Grenville, or any other known enemies of the First Consul, be civil, but

formal and distant; and at any future invitation to the same place, refuse your presence: on the contrary, to those of the other party, who have opposed the late war, and whose liberal opinions and attachment to the cause of the Revolution are known, you cannot be affable enough; and endeavour, by distinctions, invitations, and amiableness, to prove to them that the First Consul knows, remembers, and is grateful for their past conduct and behaviour.

As in most societies you will probably meet with officers of the army and navy, if they do not shun yours, court their acquaintance and conversation, and report your opinion of their principles, talents, and abilities; lay it down as an invariable rule, to address yourself *to the passions*, and *not to the reason* of those men, particularly if they are over-heated by drinking; and you may depend upon it that you will pick up some, to us unknown and useful, truths and discoveries. If they are dissatisfied or disaffected, endeavour to find out whether ambition, avarice, or patriotism, be the cause of their disaffection or complaint; and should they be men of parts, rank, and distinction, give with *nonchalance*, as a consolation, an indirect condemnation of their government,

by

by hinting that under monarchical governments those things happen, and men are neglected who, in republics, would probably be at the head of the state, and, instead of suffering from princes, would command emperors and kings. Your own discretion will tell you when such complaints are to be heard, such conversations to be suffered, and such hints to be thrown out; but at all times observe that you speak not in your official capacity, but as an individual, and a military man, who feels for the honour and interest of all military men. Should any such conversation, with firm and distinguished characters, be followed by any overtures or intrigues, make your report, and expect orders, before you engage yourself any farther.

With the chief of the demagogues or democrats associate seldom in public; but in private keep up the spirit of discontent, of faction, and of hope; with inferior members of parties decline all society and connexion, both public and private, leaving them to your inferior agents. As to pensions to individuals, or money to factious societies, always make your report before you give a promise, and gain time to inquire into the characters of the persons, and what probable service may be de-

rived from their societies: I. X. however, is the fittest person to transact those things; leave them, therefore, to him, lest you should expose or commit yourself; and avoid, as much as possible, all such intriguers or intrigues, except when some decisive blow is to be struck.

Should you, by chance, fall into company with known republicans and reformers, take care to hint, that they are not to judge of the future conduct of the First Consul in favour of liberty, from that which necessity compels him to adopt at present; that you are confident, should Providence preserve his life, and Europe once re-enjoy the tranquillity that it has lost by the many late revolutionary convulsions, he will restore to Frenchmen a greater portion of liberty than the Romans enjoyed in the time of the Gracchi; and that posterity shall not have to reproach him with permitting any other government to exist in Europe, but that of an universal republic.

In the company of aristocrats you are to hold a different language: speak of the dangers of innovation, the horrors of revolutions, and the necessity of ceasing to be any longer the dupes of speculative philosophers, and

revolutionary

revolutionary sceptics; that the privileged orders are as necessary and indispensable in the present civilised state of mankind, as equality is absurd, dangerous, and impossible: and that such are the real sentiments of the First Consul, you may remark, his whole conduct since his accession to power has proved.

England is the only country in the world where a diplomatic character of talents and judgment has many and repeated opportunities to injure, to intrigue, and to embroil, and at the same time to complain of wrongs and insult; and even, when he is himself the offender, to speak as the offended. A paragraph in a newspaper, a word in a debate, or a toast at a club, which he may have paid for or provoked, will furnish him easily with complaints every week, if not every day.

As the English ministers will probably shew some jealousy of our aggrandizements, and our endeavours to exclude England from its former connexions with the Continent—should they make you any representations on this or other subjects, meet them with complaints of the non-execution of the Treaty of Amiens; of their tyranny in the East Indies; of the libels in the newspapers; of the injuries and

calumnies of their writers against the First Consul; and of the protection afforded to the Bourbons, and other French rebels. Should, however, some unforeseen demand be made, or explanation insisted on, gain time—by referring to the decision of the First Consul, and await his orders.

If any complaint be made about the seizure of British ships, or confiscation of British property in France; always say, that France is the proper place to arrange those matters; as England is for the arrangement of the claims of French citizens there.

Never give a direct answer to any proposals made, or to any sudden complaints or offers. The want of instructions, and the necessity of consulting your government, are always acceptable and accepted excuses for delays in political transactions; make use of them, even if your mind be made up on the subject in question, for fear of committing yourself or blundering. Few political transactions are of a nature not admitting delays; and no delays can, in the present state of Europe, ever hurt any political transactions; but a negociator or minister, let his presence of mind be ever so great, and his abilities ever so tried, by giving a decisive,

a decisive, and not a temporising answer, may, by one moment's forgetfulness, do his cause and country more harm, than the services of years could repair.

Endeavour, if posible, to get an account of the real state of the East India Company's finances, and an exact list of all the Native and European forces in English pay in the East Indies; of what force they are, of what religion and language, and to what divisions they belong. Until our colonies there are securely in our power, and the forces intended to be sent thither have arrived, avoid all discussions concerning the usurpations of England, the complaints of the native Princes, or any thing that can give reason to suspect our future plans.—*On this subject*, until further orders, *observe the silence of the Treaty of Amiens.*

Spare no pains to obtain every information possible, of the weak or vulnerable parts in India; where the greatest discontent reigns; where the English are most hated, and the French most liked.

Amuse the minister with details of our misfortunes in the western hemisphere, so as to divert their attention from what we intend to do in the East. Be unceasing in your endea-

vours to persuade them that, without their assistance in ships and money, we are unable to conquer the negroes at St. Domingo; observe that it is the common cause of France and England to prevent a republic, or rather an anarchy, of negroes in the West Indies; which sooner or later must extend to Jamaica and the other British colonies, and cause their ruin or separation from the mother country. Should these arguments fail to determine England to afford us any assistance, and that you think the offer will be accepted, you may propose that England should keep St. Eustatia as a security, until what it may at present advance to France shall be repaid; and should the advances of England exceed 120 millions, any other Dutch colony in the West Indies (Surinam excepted) may be added as further security. Be careful, however, not to make those offers without a cetain prospect of success, nor till after all other means have been tried in vain.

Inquire how the public spirit is in Canada; whether the inhabitants are yet attached to France; and whether, if assisted by arms, ammunition, and money, there would be any prospect, in a future war, that they would rise and throw off the English yoke. Should any

person

person of consequence and of sense from that country call upon you, say that his countrymen who emigrate to Louisiana shall there be received with the same protection and privileges as French citizens; and that it was one of the motives of the First Consul, in getting back that settlement, to afford an asylum there to his oppressed and injured countrymen at Canada.

With the Spanish, Prussian, and Dutch ministers, you are to live upon the most friendly and intimate terms; do not, however, lose sight of their movements and transactions.—Gain the friendship of the Russian ambassador, Count Woronzof, and endeavour to persuade him, that it was not the intrigues of France, but those of his enemies in Russia, that caused his disgrace by the late emperor. Should you conceive that any seasonable present of value from the First Consul would be acceptable, mention it, and it shall be sent you, accompanied with a letter from the First Consul's hand. Make, however, no unbecoming or degrading advances.

With the present Austrian ambassador, Count Stahremberg, be rather distant; not, however, to offend, but enough to shew that

he is under the personal displeasure of the First Consul. Watch his actions strictly, and report whether he continues to see the Bourbons, and the emigrants; and whether those speak well, or complain of him, and with what other members of the Diplomatic Corps he is most intimate; accept of his invitations; but be formal and regular in returning invitation for invitation, visit for visit.

In your conversation with the Portuguese ambassador, find out whether he has abilities to see, and patriotism to feel for the degraded bondage in which England keeps his country; whether he has any partiality for England or antipathy to France—whether he mentions the conduct of Lasnes with prudence, anger, or contempt; whether he be liked or disliked by the English ministers, and whether his reception at court is as gracious as that of the Imperial ambassadors: flatter him sometimes, if you judge it proper—but watch him at all times.

With the ministers and diplomatic agents from the other powers and states, you are to follow the etiquette established in England; never forgetting, or suffering to be forgotten, that you are the representative of the first nation upon earth.

Should

Should any one of them be particularly distinguished for great talents, or for great defects; for hatred or partiality for England or France; a favourite with his own sovereign, or with the English ministers, report it. Be condescending to them individually, but keep a vigilant eye upon them all, and upon what they are about.

For the reason explained to you, pay particular attention to every thing concerning the English finances, manufactures, and commerce. Of the financial agents under you, you may trust 15, 51, and 60; 29 is doubtful, but 18 is a traitor, to whom, when sufficient proofs of his delinquency shall be collected, you may give a mission either to France or Holland, and he shall be taken care of. The reports of 29 must always be compared with those of 15, 51, and 60, before they are believed or depended on; as he is very interested, and has many underhand transactions not concerning France. Citizen Otto will leave you some notes regarding these and other agents, which you must often consult. His plan of influencing and depressing the public funds, you must study, and follow at all times; it is a master-piece. In the financial and commerical intrigues, as

well as those with the factions, you are always to remain the *mobile invisible;* you are to command, instruct, and protect; but your agents only are to be seen to act and transact.

Procure a correct list of all the persons possessing great property, with remarks as to what their properties consist of; whether landed estates, funds, or merchandise; whether in the colonies of the East or West Indies; the amount of their certain revenue; whether they are supposed to spend the whole, or only a part; whether they increase or decrease it. The list copied from the income tax, and sent by M. Otto, is incorrect; but since this tax has ceased, English vanity will get the better of English cupidity; and a correct one may be easily procured. It will be absolutely necessary for fixing loans and requisitions at our future invasion.

Buy up all plans, drawings and maps of the English coasts, provinces, cities, fortifications, dock-yards, and wharfs; all writings and remarks on the soundings, tides, and winds of England, Scotland, and Ireland; the productions, population, resources, poverty, or riches, of all the countries where a landing may take place with advantage; the character of the people

people of those countries, their political opinions, their vices and prejudices.

Endeavour to find out whether the officers of the English navy have a favourable opinion of the First Consul; whether they speak the French language, and are of whig or republican principles; and send over the names of those distinguished for naval abilities, and political or senatorial talents.

Of those agents employed to watch the conduct of the Bourbons, you can trust 2, 5, and 52; read the reports of the others, and pay the reporters, but do not depend upon them; of those about Pichegru and George, 19, 44, 66, may be believed; the others are too stupid to do either service or harm, and may without danger be dismissed; of those about the bishops; and other emigrants and chouans, 10, 12, 33; 42, and 55, may be continued; but let the others know that their services are no longer wanted in England: give them passes to France, with promises of employment there under the police.

Seldom give any grand feasts; but when you do give them, let them surpass all others in splendour, taste, delicacy, and elegance: on some occasions, such as the birth-day of the First

First Consul, the anniversary of the Republic, or, if approved by the Consul, in honour of the birth-day of the King of England, no money is to be spared to impress upon the minds of the English people the greatness and generosity of the French. Do not forget to order your subaltern agents to have all the particulars of these feasts noted in all the newspapers: the lower classes in England devour the description of feasts in their public prints, with the same avidity as the higher classes eat of your dishes and drink of your wine.

Citizen Otto's list of authors and men of letters is to be attended to; but should you hear of, or discover great talents in any other persons, court their acquaintance, offer a place in the National Institute, or a literary pension. To men of letters you are always to insinuate that pensions or places from the First Consul are only rewards for past labours, and not any pretentions or expectations of future services; that he looks on men of letters as fellow citizens of all countries, and that their talents belong exclusively to no country; neither to France nor to England, but to the Universe.

In your transactions with Irish patriots, or with any other persons, or in any things not mentioned

mentioned here, you are to follow the instructions to Citizen Otto, of the 10th of October, 1801; or, if you judge it necessary, ask for new ones.

C. M. TALLEYRAND.

Paris, October 29, 1802.

Fortunately for England and Europe, Andreossy was, no doubt, prevented from executing many of the dangerous plots and intrigues laid down by the First Consul and his worthy minister, as a rule for his conduct in this country, by the short continuance of peace: a peace which, without diminishing the danger or expence of war, kept this country in a perpetual alarm and uncertainty; while Buonaparte, with all the advantages of peace, was augmenting his power and influence more effectually than by the victories of a successful war.

At Andreossy's return to Paris from this country, Buonaparte desired him to copy and sign an official memorial, charging our ministers with bad faith, and abusing our beloved Sovereign and our nation; and when he declined to lend his name to such an infamous fiction he was ordered to quit Paris, and to reside at the distance of thirty leagues. This dis-

grace

grace continued until Buonaparte's journey to Brabant; when, meditating on the talents of all his new-made generals for his grand expedition, he was convinced that the could not do without Andreossy, and therefore recalled him, to head the staff of one division of the army against England.*

It is but justice to say, that Andreossy has not only always spoken with respect and sensibility of his reception in this country, but has tried as far as was in his power, to alleviate the sufferings and distresses of British prisoners in France; and if he be now in arms against England, it is rather in obedience to command as an officer, than from inclination as an individual.

From the information that he gained from Talleyrand, and his conversations with Buonaparte, Andreossy arrived here highly prejudiced both against our government and our nation; but he had not resided here four weeks, before he was convinced of Talleyrand's envious and revengeful exaggerations, and Buonaparte's absurd and ridiculous conclusions; and if rivalry, or revolutionary fanaticism, prevented him from regarding with philanthropy and

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Fructidor, an xi. No. iii. page 6.

and impartiality the prosperity of a people who had been the only barrier against successful rebellion, he could not forbear, even whilst wishing the destruction of England, to esteem Englishmen, and to admire their public spirit and patriotism.*

* Dictionnaire Biographique, Les Recueil d'Anecdotes, and Les Nouvelles à la Main, Thermidor, an xi. No. xi. have furnished the author with several interesting particulars in this sketch.

ADMIRAL BRUIX.

Admiral Bruix, the commander in chief of the French flotilla at Boulogne, and on the coast opposite England, was, before the Revolution, a lieutenant in the royal navy. Born a gentleman, but of poor parents, he received his education through the bounty of his King, in the Marine School at Brest. At an early age he entered the French navy, served during the American war in the fleet under the Count De Grasse, and, insinuating himself into the good graces of his commander, was by him, *before the time fixed by the marine laws in France*, promoted to the rank of an officer. After his benefactor's defeat by admiral Rodney, on the 12th of April, 1782, he joined his accusers, rivals, and enemies, and had the barefaced impudence to present "*his own promotion* as an argument to prove that the Count either did not know, or did not care about the laws and regulations of his country, the instruction of ministers, or the orders of his sovereign.* "

Notwithstanding

* See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 645.

Notwithstanding the ungenerous and illiberal sentiments of French intriguers, the adversaries of Count de Grasse blamed Bruix's conduct, shunned his society, and declined all connection with him. He was challenged by the young Count de Grasse *as a calumniator;* but, like a coward, declined a contest where courage was required, and aspersion availed nothing. From that moment he was not only excluded the company of his comrades, but forbidden the presence of his superiors; and a report having been made to the King of his contemptible proceeding and behaviour, the minister of the marine, the Marquis de Sartine, sent him orders to quit Brest, and to retire among his relations upon full pay; which, on account of his and their poverty, was continued by royal favour and benevolence.*

With all other disgraced, degraded, ambitious, or vile citizens, he was dragged forward by the Revolution from a well-deserved obscurity and neglect, and therefore embraced its cause with ardour. He is one of the *very few* officers of the royal French navy who have dishonoured themselves by aiding rebellion, or by fighting the battles of regicides.

* See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 646.

In

In 1790, when the Cabinets of St. James's and Madrid were debating the question about Nootka Sound, and England was arming to defend its rights, the *Spanish dollars operated upon the revolutionary consciences of Mirabeau, Talleyrand*, and other leaders of the Constituent Assembly—and with them convinced the majority of its members of the advantage, and the necessity, of changing the family compact into a national contract and alliance. A fleet was therefore ordered to be fitted out at Brest, to assist Spain in case of a rupture with England; and Count Albert De Riomes *was*, by the King, appointed its commander. This admiral, who had been brought up *in strict* principles of honour, and was accustomed to submission and respect toward his superiors, desired to enforce duty and obedience among his officers and inferiors, and discipline among his men. This did not agree with the projects, passions, and interests of the rebellious heroes of the day. The land forces were already disorganized by their management, and that of their emissaries; and at Toulon, some few months before, Count Albert De Riomes had a narrow escape from the then fashionable *lantern* of the preachers of La Fayette's sacred

rights

rights of insurrection; but at Brest the revolutionary propagators had not hitherto obtained the same success. Bruix was, therefore, sent thither by the Marine Committee of the National Assembly, accompanied by some inferior agents; and by libels on liberty and equality, by explanations and extensions of the rights of men, &c. &c. his patriotic labours were not long unavailing. In six weeks time, the whole fleet was in confusion and anarchy; the officers were insulted, and threatened, with their admiral, as aristocrats. Count Albert De Riomes, in disgust, resigned the supreme power over a fleet where every man wished to command, and nobody would obey; and where the sailors, instead of assisting in the equipment and manœuvres of the ships, were debating and deliberating about the doctrines of a jacobin club lately instituted by Citizen Bruix, and of which many of them had become members.*

The emigration now became general among the officers of the royal navy, and, of course, those who remained made rapid advancement. Bruix was now appointed captain of a frigate, and

* See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 643, et La Liste des Propagateurs Revolutionaires, page 60.

and served as such during the winter of 1792, in the *brilliant* expedition under Admiral Thuguet in the Mediterranean, where he *bravely* insulted the King of Naples, by the visit of a grenadier ambassador; and with the loss of two ships of the line, and three thousand troops, made a *glorious* attack on Cagliari, in Sardinia.

When France, in 1793, declared war against England, the National Convention ordered him to Brest; and he was slightly wounded in the battle with Lord Howe on the 1st of June, 1794. He wrote on this occasion to the national representative, Jean Bon St. André (at present a consular prefect, formerly a protestant clergyman, but then, as a member of Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety, the director of the naval force at Brest) a shocking letter, dated Brest, the 24th Prairial, year 2, and preserved in a work called *Les Annales du Terrorisme*, page 128, from which the following lines are extracted:—"Citizen Representative of the French people, Our late want of success was entirely owing to the want of the activity of our republican guillotine—let a guillotine be fixed in permanency *(en permanence)* on board every man of war, frigate, cutter, sloop, and,

and, if possible, in every boat; let its axe never be rusty, let the continual cutting off of the heads of cowards and traitors keep it polished with the blood of those enemies to equality; let the guillotine, the saint guillotine, and nothing but the saint guillotine, be your order of the day; let death follow suspicions and the suspected, as the shade the body; *accustom our sailors to wade as well in blood as in water*, and the empire of the ocean and of the world is ours." A man who professed such humane sentiments in 1794 is, no doubt, worthy to command, in 1803, against England, an expedition, in which, according to his Corsican sovereign's own words, he has ninety-nine chances to one against him.

After the death of Robespierre, Bruix shared with other terrorists the contempt and hatred of his countrymen; and therefore tried, by some years' retreat, to bury criminality in oblivion. When, in the winter of 1797, Buonaparte meditated his expedition against Egypt, he consulted Bruix, with all the other officers of the former royal navy who had not emigrated, and presented him to Barras, who soon after promoted him to the rank of Admiral.—For a short time during 1798, he had the ministerial

nisterial port-folio of the marine departments, which, however, he resigned for the command over the fleet at Brest. In 1799, he had the good luck, with his fleet, to escape the English cruizers, to make a junction with the Spanish fleet, and to return with it to Brest, there to retain it as a security for the submission of the court of Madrid, of whose policy and intentions about this period the French Directory seemed to have some doubts.

When Buonaparte effected the revolution of the 9th of November, 1799, Bruix was at Paris, in the secrets of the usurper, and was sent by him, with Talleyrand, to Barras, to procure his resignation as a Director. He was soon afterwards created one of Buonaparte's counsellors for the marine section of the council of state, although continued in his command at Brest; he has ever since been intriguing to become a minister; but Buonaparte either does not confide in his capacity, or suspects his probity; and his present command proves, that he is thought rather a desperate citizen than a brave and able admiral; that his life is judged of little value, and his talents of less; that Buonaparte desires either to get rid of a troublesome courtier, or to force a disagreeable

agreeable person, whom he sends to destruction, to augment by some unforeseen chance his artificial greatness; in which fortune has more claims than merit, to which talents have not much contributed, and virtue, honour, and humanity are strangers.

Bruix is about forty-four years of age; of a weak constitution, but of an active mind; his manners are supple and insinuating; and he is now the humble valet of Buonaparte, as he was formerly of La Fayette, Brissot, Marat, Robespierre, and Barras. He is believed to possess more bravery than capacity, more pretension than information; he has neither the esteem nor the confidence of the officers or men under his command; and he is commonly called, "The citizen of the Saint Guillotine, the Officer of Clubs, and the Admiral of Ante-chambers.*"

* See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Thermidor, an xi. No. vii. page 13.

THF CONSULAR TRIBUNE.
RIOUFFE.

It has been justly remarked before, and deserves to be repeated, that no good man can see or read without indignation, on what names both of ancient and modern times the utmost exuberance of praise has been lavished, and by what hands it has been bestowed. In France, particularly since the Revolution, it has never yet been found that the tyrant, the plunderer, the poisoner, the murderer, the oppressor, the most cruel of the cruel, the most hateful of the hateful, the most profligate of the profligate, have been denied any encomiums which they were willing to purchase; or that wickedness and folly have not found correspondent flatterers through all their subordinations.

Among the thousands of degraded French citizens who have thus dishonoured themselves, the Consular Tribune Honoré Riouffe stands foremost. He was formerly a man of letters, fawning, flattering, complimenting, and

and bowing to every man in power, in the hope of obtaining a place or a pension.

In 1786, he complimented M. de Calonne, as a *modern* Sully; in 1787, his successor, Cardinal de Brienne, as the *modern* Richelieu; and in 1788, Cardinal de Brienne's successor, M. Neckar, as the *modern* Colbert: in 1789, he called La Fayette the French Washington, and Mirabeau the French Franklin; in 1790, he addressed himself to Abbé Maury, as the French Demosthenes; in 1791, he called Brissot the French Cato, and Roland the French Aristides; in 1792, he complimented Marat as the French Brutus, Danton as the French Tullius, and Santerre as the French Malborough; in 1793, he flattered Robespierre as a French Gracchus, and Henriot as the French Eugene; in 1794, he styled Tallien the Republican Christ; and in 1795, Barras the Republican Solomon; in 1796, he made La Reveilliere the Republican Moses, Rewbell the French Solon, and Carnot the *modern* Vauban; during 1797 and 1798, Buonaparte was regularly complimented once in the month, either as an Alexander, a Scipio, a Cæsar, a Gustavus Adolphus, or a Charles XII.; in 1799, he addressed him, after his usurpation, as the French Ly-

curgus, and the Henry IV. *revived.** In return, Buonaparte made him, in December 1799, one of his Tribunes; but from the beginning of his Tribunate, every time he spoke he was called to order by Daunon, or some other member, on account of his continual, disgusting, unskilful, and extravagant praise of the Corsican; and on one occasion Daunon told him, that Buonaparte did not want defence, as nobody attacked him; nor praise, because nobody abused or calumniated him; and that, as a morsel of bread would always silence the barking of a hungry dog, so he hoped and begged that Citizen Riouffe would be silent and satisfied with his morsel of 15,000 livres (the salary of a Tribune), and not, by his absurd, impertinent, and stupid praise, indirectly throw out hints that any person in the Tribunate differed with him in opinion, and was inimical to the First Consul. In 1800 there appeared a small pamphlet, called "The Art of flattering men in place, without taste, sense, or shame: dedicated to Citizen Riouffe." It was supposed to come from the pen of Daunon. This pamphlet contains the particulars mentioned

* La Conduit des Hommes des Lettres en France, pendant la Revolution. Chez Mercier à Paris, an x, 1802, page 77.

mentioned above; with a just remark, that as Citizen Riouffe had, from 1786 to 1799, continued to flatter and to starve, to starve and to flatter, without notice or reward, it was to be supposed that none of those to whom he had before addressed the productions of his base genius wanted or regarded his base flattery; it was, therefore, great good luck for him that the greatest man of all great men would swallow and pay for drugs so tasteless and nauseous, that they could not force themselves down the throats even of a Marat, or a Robespierre, who were not otherwise over-nice.

In 1802, Daunon lost his place as a Tribune, and Riouffe is in daily expectation of being nominated a Prefect.*

Riouffe has written two comedies, which were hissed by the audience; and one tragedy, which was refused by all the theatres at Paris. He is the author of a novel which nobody would read, and of an elegy which no printer would publish.

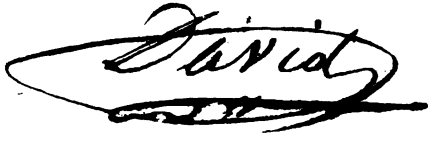
The only work from Riouffe's pen which has received public approbation, was *La Memoire d'une Detenüe*, written during some

* The above was written in September, 1803; and in February 1804, Riouffe was appointed a prefect of the Department of Taru!!!

months imprisonment by the terrorists in 1794. It contains, however, a good dose of flattery to the popular criminals of those days of infamy and horror. In the before-mentioned pamphlet Daunon observes that the loss of liberty is more conformable to the *physical*, *political*, and *literary* constitution of Citizen Riouffe than the use of freedom; that when at large he is *always* a slave, and when confined *sometimes* a freeman; but *that twenty years detention is absolutely necessary to make him a good, respectable, and independent author and citizen.*

At the return of the Corsican from his journey to Brabant, (August 1803) Riouffe, as President of the Tribunate, in a shameful and sacrilegious manner, hailed the arrival of the *Providence of Europe*, Napoleone Buonaparte, in *his* capital!!!

David.



DAVID,

MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE,

AND

OF THE LEGION OF HONOUR.

D'un Citoyen Francois tel est le Caractere.

THE artist David, who is now occupied in painting Buonaparte as the God of War, driving his chariot over a prostrate figure of Neptune, whose trident is broken, is the same person who, on the 25th of September, 1790, did homage to the National Assembly by offering a picture representing the entrance of the virtuous Louis XVI. into that assembly on the 4th of the preceding February, and who, in May 1794, painted the famous feast ordered by Robespierre, acknowledging a supreme Being, and in his picture drew *the Almighty with the face of this blood-thirsty republican tyrant.*

It is a fact not very honourable to the arts, that most of the first French artists have, since the Revolution, figured in the revolutionary massacres, in the revolutionary tribunals, and in the revolutionary committees. David, Hennequin, Topino, Le Brun, Gauthereau, and

many other republican painters, have committed crimes, which, under moral governments, would long ago have sent them to the scaffold; but in republican France, the scenes of their cruelties, though all their atrocities are known, their persons are protected, and their principles and conduct extenuated, honoured, and respected. *David is a member of the French National Institute, and was, in* 1800, *nominated by Buonaparte painter of the republican government; and in* 1804, *a member of the legion of honour!!!*

David was educated at Rome, in the French Academy of Painting, at the expence of the King of France, by the recommendation of the unfortunute Queen Maria-Antoinette. In return for this generosity of his benevolent Sovereign, he, from the beginning of the Revolution, joined the standard of rebellion, and became one of the most violent of the revolutionary fanatics. He was called the pillar of the jacobin club; in which, in November 1791, he proposed to draw the likenesses of two thousand of the principal aristocrats, that is to say, loyal subjects, and to send copies of them to the forty thousand municipalities in France, with orders to hang on the *lantern, without a*

trial, the originals, wherever they should appear. At the head of these aristocrats were the King's brothers, sister, and the other members of the royal family.*

On the 2nd of September 1792, when republican assassins were butchering the prisoners at the prison called La Force, the National Deputy Reboul observed David calmly drawing a picture of the dying, as they were heaped up on the pile of the already murdered: when asked what he was doing there, he answered, with *sang froid*, "*I am catching the last emotion of nature in those scoundrels;*" and when reproached for his barbarity, he said, with a laughing indifference, "*If I love blood, it is, doubtless, because Nature has given me this disposition.*" In his cabinet David shews to his friends drawings of thirty-two mutilated heads, with the mangled and disfigured countenances of persons who perished on that day.†

With Marat and Robespierre he was elected a representative of the Parisians in the National Convention, where he voted for the death of his King, who some years before had made

* See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 75, and Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 645.

† See Le Dictionnaire Biographique, art. David. Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 646, in the note.

him his painter. When Robespierre had destroyed his rival rebels of the Brissot faction, David was chosen a member of the Committee of Public Safety, where he practised all the tyranny of a French republican upstart, and all the abominations of an atheistical demagogue; he publicly gloried in having signed orders for the imprisonment of twelve thousand of his fellow-citizens, of whom, he said, five thousand had been either guillotined at Paris, or drowned or shot in the departments.*

He was the constant friend, admirer, and accomplice of Marat and Robespierre; and for them deserted even his old connexions with Danton and Camille Desmoulins, whose countenances upon the scaffold he went to draw, when Robespierre's tribunal condemned them to die. Another trait will give some idea of this monster. A pregnant woman, with seven children, threw herself at his feet, entreating the release of her husband, and exclaiming, "he is innocent, and is the only support of our wretched family." David, ordering her to remain in the same position, coolly took out his pencil, and drew this pregnant woman in her kneeling

* Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 76, and Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 644.

kneeling attitude, with her afflicted head hanging on one shoulder: when he had finished, he shewed her the paper, saying—"Look! this is my only answer:"—the next day her husband was ordered to be guillotined; and when he was ascending the scaffold, David asked him to stop a moment, because he wanted a supplement to a drawing, by painting his dying looks, and comparing them with those of his petitioning and fainting wife.—The same night David himself brought his performance to the widow, who, on looking at it, miscarried and died; and the atrocious monster, her assassin, made this new scene of horror another subject for his pencil.*

He hastened the execution of the queen in 1793, and that of Madame Elizabeth in April 1794. As baseness is always the companion of cruelty, David went, in March 1794, to insult this virtuous princess with his presence in the Temple bastile. The Princess asking him for a pinch of snuff, the cowardly regicide answered with brutality—"You are not worthy to put your fingers in my snuff-box;" he then offered her some snuff on the back of his hand, saying—"*This is good enough for thee, thou*

* See Le Dictionnaire des Jacobins; Le Dictionnaire Biographique, art. David.

thou d—d aristocratic b—h, whom the republican scaffold is waiting for."*

When Robespierre made his last speech in the Hall of the Jacobins, complaining of his associates in the Committee of Public Safety, and, alluding to the republican case of Socrates, said, "*I shall drink the hemlock,*" David advanced to the tribune, and exclaimed—"*I also will drink it with thee.*" He did not, however, keep his word; and, instead of joining Robespierre on the day of his proscription, he concealed himself, to wait the issue of the contest between him and the National Convention; and when dragged from his hiding-place, and carried to the prison of the Luxemburg, he behaved in the most abject manner, crying and praying for his life; but no sooner had he obtained an assurance of forgiveness from the National Convention, than he insulted all his fellow-prisoners by his scandalous and sacrilegious conduct and conversation; telling them how many mandates of arrest and of death he had

* See Le Recueil d'Anecdotes, page 80. Le Dictionnaire Biographique, art. David, and Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 647. These, and the other abominations, were published besides in the daily papers in France; and the author heard David say, in 1802, "*that he was proud to acknowledge, that they were not exaggerated!!*

had issued, how many churches he had plundered, and how many priests, women, and children he had caused to be murdered. He congratulated himself, with a ferocious exultation, that although he had signed so many mandates for arrests and death, he had never yet put his name to an order for a release or an acquittal; adding, that were he ever to be in power again, he should undoubtedly pursue the same line of conduct. He exhibited, from his *patriotic* portfolio, so many evidences of his shocking and cruel activity, both as a republican painter and as a French patriot, that it was impossible to determine who deserved the greatest detestation and punishment, the artist or the citizen.*

After three months imprisonment he was released; and in 1795, and 1799, in an attempt to re-establish jacobin clubs, he joined all other terrorists to organize them.

The motion of Barrere, to encourage French and other artists, by their pencils and talents, to present and preserve for future ages some of the most brilliant and memorable events of the French Revolution, David opposed, accusing all

* See Le Dictionnaire Biographique, Le Dictionnaire des Jacobins, art. David, and Les Annales du Terrorisme, page 672.

all artists of being aristocrats; and he added, "that if the republican cannon, loaded with grape-shot, fired upon all the artists of the world collected together, he was persuaded they would not kill one single true patriot, jacobin, or republican."

David is the first painter of the present French school: his admirable pieces of the Horatii and of the Sabines do his pencil honour; but his talents, however brilliant, are incapable of palliating his most enormous guilt; and foreigners, who dishonour themselves by visiting and applauding the painter, approve or diminish accordingly the crimes of the regicide, and the cruelties of the rebel.

Disease, the consequence of debauchery, has disfigured this man, whose face, looks, and voice, bespeak the image of his soul. A frightful tumefied cheek distorts his disgustful features, and disqualifies the organs of speech from uttering ten words in the same tone of voice. When he speaks, a person may fancy that he hears, at the same time, the sighs of the unfortunate; the complaints of the suffering; the agonies of the expiring, and the cannibal laughter and joy of an American savage tormenting his devoted victims.

David

David is above fifty years of age, and, although a great painter, is a very ignorant man and politician; he has, however, the vanity of wishing to be considered as one of the first revolutionary statesmen, and not long ago intrigued for the place of minister for the home department.*

* See Les Annales du Terrorisme, Recueil d'Anecdotes, Les Crimes des Jacobins, and Les Memoires sur les Prisons dans le Tems du Terreur; all works or pamphlets published in France.

CHARLES M. TALLEYRAND.

DE PERIGORD.

TALLEYRAND is descended from the ancient Sovereigns of the province of Perigord, in the South of France. His father, a younger brother, with a small fortune, destined his son, early in life, for the church: before he was twenty he possessed several rich abbeys, and before thirty was made bishop of Autun, much against the inclination of the virtuous Louis XVI. who had heard that the Abbé de Perigord was one of the most immoral, but insinuating *Roué* and libertines in France.

When at college, Talleyrand shewed an early genius for intrigues, and a strong propensity to vice; and, but for the defect of being club-footed and lame, he would, according to the wish of his governors, have disgraced the army, instead of scandalizing the church; because he was always as great a coward in his private quarrels, as daring when supported in his public plots; in fact, all his transactions since he has been a minister, exhibit an ungenerous poltroon, backed by power.

The

Engraved by T. Blood for the European Magazine from an Original Painting by Gerard.

Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigord. Prince de Benevente.

London — Published by J. Asperne 32 Cornhill 1st July 1814.

The Revolution found him a gamester, a *debauchee*, and a bankrupt, without honour, principles, or probity. He openly intrigued with a married lady; and *her son, by this catholic bishop*, was lately an aid-de-camp to Louis Buonaparte.

In 1789, when become a member of the National Assembly, the gown of the bishop did not long conceal the modern philosopher and the fashionable atheist; he was *one of the first traitors to his king*, and the *first apostate to his religion;* he soon attacked the majesty of heaven as well as the majesty of the throne.

On the 2d of November, 1789, upon the motion of Talleyrand, the confiscation of the church property in France was decreed; and such is the incomprehensible will of Providence, that, after years of wars, murders, and crimes, the same man has been lately the disposer of all the church property both in Germany and in Italy. This motion to dispose of the property of others, by a *person who had no property* but debts, may be considered as the cruel foundation in France of all the consequent confiscations and plunders, as well as the proscriptions of owners of estates, lands, or money. It has caused the ruin and wretchedness

edness of millions, but has enormously enriched Talleyrand and his accomplices.

In May 1790, he was one of the members of the Diplomatic Committee, headed by Mirabeau, upon whose report it was decreed by the National Assembly, and sanctioned by the king, *that France renounced for ever all conquests.* Since he has become a revolutionary minister, he has never concluded a treaty, or even entered into a negotiation, without increasing the territory, and augmenting the power of France.

In the same year, as a member of the Ecclesiastical Committee, he planned the intolerant and impolitic decree that made a distinction between a constitutional and a nonjuring clergy, which has caused so many torments, dissentions, and civil wars, and which still continues to divide the Gallican church.

Talleyrand was always the worthy friend of Mirabeau, who, in April 1791, resigned his guilty soul in the arms of this his guilty accomplice.

In June of the same year, he was in the secret of La Fayette to betray his king into that improvident step (the journey to Varennes) which produced so many insults, humiliations, suspicions,

suspicions, and accusations, and which was the principal cause of all the subsequent sufferings of the king and his family.

In the spring of 1792, Talleyrand accompanied the French Minister Chauvelin to England. According to the late constitution, he could not, for some years, occupy any public employment; but Chauvelin was only the *nominal*, and Talleyrand the *real* minister, and the inventor, author, promoter, and instigator of all the plots, intrigues, and conspiracies, in and against England that year.

In 1792, Robespierre's faction according to his desire caused a decree of outlawry to pass against Talleyrand. Thus proscribed every where else, he enjoyed hospitality and protection in England; but in return he meditated new plots and invented new projects to embroil or ruin this country, which was the cause of the order that he received from government to leave it.

In 1794, he went to America, because no state in Europe would receive him. In 1795, the National Convention annulled its decree of outlawry, and the same year he arrived at Hamburgh, where he resided some time before he returned to France. Gratitude was never among

among the virtues of this man: Hamburgh, for its hospitality, has since, by his orders, been several times laid under contribution, and he detests equally America and England, whose ruin is his daily contrivance and study.

By his intrigues with his old accomplices, the Directors Barras, Rewbel, and La Reveilliere, he was, in 1797, promoted to the ministry of the foreign department in France. His negotiations this year and in 1798, at Rastadt, prove his abilities to intrigue, to embroil, to divide, and to profit by his nefarious deeds.

To allay the jealousy of the Directory, and at the same time to employ and gratify the ambition of Buonaparte, he brought forward, in the autumn of 1797, the old scheme of former French ministers—*the conquest of Egypt*; and his emissaries prepared the treason that delivered up Malta to Buonaparte in June 1798.

After the victory of Lord Nelson at Aboukir, Talleyrand became unpopular; the issue, in 1799, of the Congress at Rastadt, and the unsuccessful campaign which followed, augmented the hatred of the jacobin faction against him, and he was obliged to resign: such was still his influence with the Directory, however, that

that he chose Rheinhard for his successor, a person whom he governed as much in 1799, as he had done Chauvelin in 1792, to whom this Rheinhard was then secretary.

When Buonaparte with so much treachery had deserted his army in Egypt, Talleyrand and Sieyes prepared the revolution which seated him upon the throne of the Bourbons. No sooner was the Corsican proclaimed First Consul, than he reinstated Talleyrand in his former place as minister.

In the beginning of 1800, by promises, bribes, and negociations, Talleyrand pacified the Royalists of La Vendée; and afterwards, by treachery, delivered them up to arrest, transportation, and death.

The treaties of Luneville, of Ratisbon, and of Amiens, Talleyrand calls his *political chef d'œuvres*, or master-pieces: time will soon shew whether the other two of these treaties will not follow the fate of the third, which was soon made impracticable by French encroachments, intrigues, pretensions, and insolence.

Whilst a bishop, Talleyrand was a stock-jobber: and since he has possessed the key to all the political transactions which so much influence

influence the finances of all countries, his speculations in different funds have procured him a fortune greater than he *dares to acknowledge*, or than *Buonaparte suspects.* This fortune has been considerably augmented by his many negociations, in particular those concerning the throne in Tuscany,* the indemnities in Germany, and Louisiana in America.

Because the former kings of France, Louis XIII. Louis XIV. and Louis XV. made their ministers, Richelieu, Mazarine, and Fleury, cardinals; Buonaparte proposed to Talleyrand, in 1802, to procure him the same dignity.—Talleyrand had, however, given his promise to marry his former mistress, the divorced wife of a Mr. Grand; when, therefore, this proposal was made, he cunningly answered, that those *cardinals* were *prime ministers;* that *the great* Henry IV. had *no cardinal* for a minister, but *a friend* in his minister Sully. The same day he obtained the consular permission to marry Madame Grand.†

By debauchery, intemperance, and gluttony, Talleyrand's constitution is entirely broken, and his health destroyed; and the invalid

* An idea may be formed of his fortune, when we state, that, for that transaction alone, he received A MILLION OF LIVRES.

† See Les Nouvelles à la Main, Nivose an xi. No. vi. page 10.

valid' suffers daily for the excesses and the vices of which he has been guilty.

Talleyrand's inveteracy against England is proverbial; it does not, however, arise from the love of his own country, but from envy to the prosperity of England. He would willingly sign the ruin of France, were he certain that that of England would follow.

Of Talleyrand's hatred towards this country, and of the plans and plots of Buonaparte, even during a peace, to prepare the ruin of the British empire, if any proofs are required, the following extract from a memorial presented to the Chief Consul by Talleyrand, on the 13th Frimaire, year xi. or December 14th, 1802, must remove the doubts even of the most prejudiced in favour of the republican ruler and his republican minister.

Talleyrand begins by telling the Chief Consul, that the present memorial is merely a copy of one presented to the ministers of Louis XV. after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, to dissuade them from that fatal and dishonourable war to France which ended in 1762. He says, "Through the ignorance of the ministers, the bribes of Austria, the intrigues of Bernis, the influence of Pompadour, and the weakness of Louis XV.

those strong reasons for peace were not listened to; the consequence is known; but it is not known, that this impolitic war alone prevented the total ruin of England during the following, or American war, and preserved that country from being what, if we are prudent, *it sooner or later must be, an invaluable Naval and Military Station of France*, and which will secure to us the empire of the world."

Talleyrand then enters into the particulars of the many and *irresistible* means which France, during the peace, possesses "to foment troubles, to spread discontent, to tarnish the honour, to undermine the resources, to weaken the strength, to lull asleep the public spirit, and to cool the patriotism, of the inhabitants of the British empire; and, by a gradual train of intrigues, insults, demands, insurrections, vexations, murmurs, alarms, and bankruptcy, prepare even the warmest English patriot to see with indifference, if not with approbation, *an union with* France, which will put an end to all difficulties, and procure Englishmen the same tranquillity, honour, and happiness, that Frenchmen enjoy under the mild, but firm government of the Chief Consul.

"But," says he, "powerful as France is upon

upon the Continent, by its conquests, by its influence, by the vigour of its Government, and by the victories of its armies; in regard to England, it is not in a better position of strength than in 1755, because, with the knowledge of our means, and with the great abilities of our ruler, we are unable *directly* to injure England, our navy being more reduced, and our naval officers more ignorant, than in 1755; but *indirectly*, and in a time of peace, to lay the *infallible* foundation for the future subjection of England, France at no former period had so many certain and underhand methods. A war at present may lessen, if not destroy them; but every year's continuance of peace will preserve, augment, and fix them.

"Ought we not to wait at least ten years before we renew the war with England, or till we are in a condition effectually to support our claims, our views and our plans? The English will do our business, if we permit them. Their religion is pleasure, and their pleasure debauchery. They have plunged themselves into an excess of luxury and intemperance. *They have begun to neglect their navy, and to disband their artificers*, who go to France, Spain, and Holland, for maintenance.

" While their individuals squander their riches, *the State grows parsimonious, and begins to save in those articles on which it cannot be too profuse.*

" They are even now reducing their trivial army; and their patriots speak of entrusting, what they call their liberty and property, to the valour of a militia. What a field is this for our policy? Is it our business to awaken or arouse them from their lethargy? If we do, the consequence is obvious—We teach them to believe *a real truth*, 'That they cannot strengthen themselves too much by sea or land.' Then an army ceases to be the object of public complaint, of public dislike—and the people begin to think that, as they must have one, it is better to have an army of English than of Frenchmen. Then their young nobility will continue to apply themselves to the military profession, and think themselves honoured by that profession, in which alone consists the defence and security of their country.

" This may be fatal to us; for the sooner we go to war, the sooner their effeminacy will wear off, and their ancient spirit and courage revive. They will not then become more wealthy, but they will get more wisdom, which

is

is better. The military virtues, and the manly exercises may become fashionable; and the nation, which now seems immersed in debauchery and corruption, may yet think seriously, and be once more, what it has often been, the terror of Europe. This is not an unnatural supposition—they easily glide from one extreme to another—it is their natural temper; and their whole history is one continued proof of it.

"The ashes of La Vendée still smoke—it requires only a spark to kindle a civil war in the bosom of our country. The returned emigrants are as yet quiet; but they have not forgotten their former principles, and the wrongs that they have suffered from the Revolution. Let not a new war give the Bourbons an opportunity to remind them of it. The most dangerous of the Bourbons reside in England; let not the renewal of a war permit England to use them, their name and influence, to trouble and invade France.

"We command at present all the Continental powers; but we know that they wear with disgust and murmurs the fetters we have imposed. Let not a war with England give

them occasion to shake them off, and to command us in their turn.

"The general weakness and supineness that for ever attend immoderate wealth and luxury, hide from the English the knowledge of their own strength, real power, and true interest. Suffer them not to relapse into virtue and understanding. Plunge them not too deeply into difficulties, and they will never emerge from folly into real wisdom.

"We have already insulated them from the Continental politics—*Leave them in peace*—and the insulation of their trade shall soon follow. We have already made them feared, envied, and hated, every where on the Continent—*Leave them in peace*, and they shall soon be despised, neglected, and unpitied.

"*Leave them in peace*, and they will soon return to their amusements of elections, races, party, and faction—*Leave them in peace*, and their ministers must be directed by popular clamour, which we can always excite and encourage.—*Leave them in peace*, and their navy will once more be laid up to rot, and their seamen and artificers be once more turned over to us, to Spain, and to Holland!—*Leave them*

them in peace, and the greatest part of their army will soon be reduced, and the small remains will soon become a mere militia in pay—*Leave them in peace*, and we shall not fear the defection of Russia and Prussia, or any of our present Allies, which otherwise would much hurt, and, perhaps, ruin our present system.—*Leave them in peace*, and they will never think of schemes for increasing their population, or for making every part of their dominions of real use to every other.—*Leave them in peace*, and most of their nobility and gentry will continue to squander away amongst us their great riches, and augment our resources to enslave their country.—*Leave them in peace*, and before the year 25, France shall command the departments of the Thames and the Tweed, as it already does the departments of the Rhine and the Po.

"Pursue, Citizen Consul, this plan steadily, for ten or fifteen years, constantly directing the riches of the country to the raising of a navy equal or superior to that of England; and then, and *not till then*, shall we be able to strike the blow that we have for above a hundred and fifty years been meditating, *The Conquest of the British Islands.*

(Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND."

This

This memorial the author received from a friend at Paris within three weeks after its presentation to Buonaparte; and though the *Moniteur* has mentioned it after its insertion in some of the English papers, its authenticity was never contradicted; on the contrary, one of Talleyrand's chefs des bureaus, in the cabinet of Secret State Papers, was dismissed on the wholly unfounded suspicion of having transmitted it to somebody in this country.

Talleyrand has talents, and the Revolution, fortune, and circumstances, have procured him opportunities to exhibit them to the greatest advantage; under a *regular government* he would have been but an indifferent minister; under a *revolutionary tyranny* he is a great statesman and a political oracle; and those very vices which would have injured him under the one, are the principal cause of his great success under the other. But an impartial posterity, without our passions and our interests, will place him in his true rank, that of a TRAITOR, a REBEL, and an APOSTATE.*

* See, for the particulars of Talleyrand's character, Le Dictionnaire Biographique, art. Talleyrand, and L'Ami du Roi, Des Actes des Apotres, with other loyal publications, printed in France, and read both by Talleyrand and his accomplices.

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